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THE

CHRISTIAN EXAMINER

AND

RELIGIOUS MISCELLANY.

VOLUME XLIV.

FOURTH SERIES, VOLUME IX.

JANUARY, MARCH, MAY, 1848.

BOSTON:
WM. CROSBY AND H. P. NICHOLS.
NEW YORK: C. S. FRANCIS & CO.
LONDON: JOHN CHAPMAN, 121 NEWGATE STREET.
1847.

[redacted] No.) 6613/06

CAMBRIDGE:
METCALF AND COMPANY,
PRINTERS TO THE UNIVERSITY.

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JANUARY, 1848.

Art. I. — COQUEREL'S EXPERIMENTAL CHRISTIANITY.*

It is a common opinion, and one which we regret to see so prevalent in our own country, that the French nation is a nation without religion, and even without religious aspirations. If any horrible crime is committed in France, there are hundreds to be found who will exclaim, What else could be expected in a country where there is no religion? These are grave imputations, and, as it seems to us, require some proofs to support them. That the French do not willingly accede to the present religion of France is a fact which we would not even wish to deny, for it is on this fact we found our belief that religious feeling is not extinct in that country. The time when Catholicism could exercise any real influence over the French people has passed away, never more to return. Catholicism is but nominally the religion of the majority of the French nation. Does it, however, follow, that in the hearts of those who have deserted the altars of the Church of Rome the pure flame of religion has become extinct? By no means. It is, indeed, impossible for man to eradicate from his breast that religious instinct which God himself has implanted within it. He may, for a time, seem no more to hear its voice, but he will sooner or later be again obliged to acknowledge its existence. So, too, a nation may, during a period of religious

* *Le Christianisme Expérimental.* Par Athanase Coquerel, l'un des Pasteurs de l'Eglise Réformée de Paris. Paris. 1847. 12mo. pp. 527.

and social convulsion, no longer obey the dictates of this impulse, and abandon itself entirely to all the uncertainty and horror of skepticism and materialism. But when the revolutionary storm has subsided, when a nation has obtained that political or social freedom for which it struggled, it will feel, that, to enable man to bear the sorrows and disappointments which await him in this world, a cold and lifeless philosophical system is inadequate. It will then, once more, seek for an altar where it may offer up its prayers to God. This has been the case in France. Since that revolution, which was caused, perhaps, as much by the skepticism of the eighteenth century as by the vices of the Regent or of Louis XV., the French begin to feel the necessity of a religion in harmony with their real spiritual wants.

If this view of the present condition of France is not often taken, it is because we are apt to form our idea of the moral and social condition of a people from the extremes of society. This is unjust. It is not by what we see among a gay and heartless aristocracy, or in those classes that are plunged into the depths of misery, and of vice, the necessary companion of misery, that an opinion of this kind is to be formed. If such were the only means of judging of the morality of a people, how low would England stand in our estimation! It is from the condition of the middle classes, that is to say, the majority of the nation, that we must judge of the whole nation. If these classes are content with their imperfect form of worship, or if they are devoid of religious sentiment, then, and then only, may we despair of the future religious progress of a nation. If we look at the middle classes in France, we shall not, however, find any cause of despair. We shall there find many thousands of Catholics, who, were it not for that mysterious sympathy which binds every man to the faith of his fathers, and to that mode of worship which he was taught to profess when a child, would abandon their religion and become members of some Protestant church. We have ourselves known some who, although truly religious, never had taken the sacrament, because they were unwilling to conform to the usage of their Church preparatory to this ceremony, — unwilling to confess their sins to a sinner like themselves. We have known others, again, who did not believe in the Trinity, or who denied the infallibility of the Pope. And yet all these persons sincerely and honestly believed themselves Catholics. Tranquillize the conscientious anxi-

eties of such persons, convince them that it is not only not wrong to abandon a church to which one does not truly belong, but that it is the duty of every Christian to join the church whose doctrines are the most in harmony with his own, and they would soon be found, we doubt not, at the foot of some Protestant pulpit.

M. Coquerel's work is intended to present to these Christians, who have renounced the religion of the past, but who are still doubtful as to the path which they shall now follow, a complete religious system, which may serve as the foundation of their future faith. Firm and tranquil in his belief that France will one day be a Protestant country, M. Coquerel has devoted all his powers to the realization of this, his most ardent wish. The energies of a highly gifted mind, an impassioned and touching eloquence, and the treasures of a truly Christian heart, have been alike directed towards this great object. After thirty years of uninterrupted labor as a preacher, first in the French Protestant Church at Amsterdam, and afterwards as one of the pastors of the Reformed Church of Paris, he has at last published the work we have before us. M. Coquerel belongs to that class of Christians who think, that, as there were reformers before the Reformation, so too there may be reformers in every age ; and that, however much we may be indebted to those immortal men who first freed the world from the yoke of Romanism, we may differ widely from them in their manner of interpreting the Scriptures. An intolerant Protestantism, that is to say, a religious system in which liberty of conscience is the first word but which ends with the solemn and horrible declaration, that there is only one Church in which man can be saved, is as unfit for our age as the Roman Catholic faith. A new system is, then, to be sought. In this system, faith in God as a Father, in Christ as a Saviour, and in immortality as the continuation of our present existence, must be included. But faith will not alone be required. We are confident that man will be judged, not according to his belief, if that belief be sincere, but according to his actions. And must it not be so ? If every Protestant has a right to read his Bible, and therein to find his faith, how can it be expected that all men should believe alike ? Who can suppose that the simple-hearted laborer, who on the Sabbath reads the Bible to his family, should understand it and interpret it as a Luther or a Calvin, a Chalmers or a Channing ? No.

The time is fast approaching when there will be a large class of Christians, who, when asked to what religious denomination they belong, will simply reply, — We are disciples of Christ; Christ has taught us to love God as a Father, to love each other, and to do by others as we would wish to be done by; we are Christians, not theologians. And when, at last, the number of those who profess these liberal views shall have so increased as to spread all over the world, when all nations shall meet together to offer up prayers at the same altar, then, and then only, Christianity will have accomplished its object in this world. How beautiful is this anticipation of the future condition of the human race! How soothing to the heart of the Christian, amidst the dissensions which now agitate mankind and divide them into innumerable sects, each of which is willing to assert that it alone is possessed of the truth!

There are many Christians, however, who may think that such a system savors too much of Rationalism. If they peruse M. Coquerel's volume, they will see, we think, that they are mistaken. They will see that the author, while he maintains our right to investigate, by the light of our reason, the various and difficult problems which surround us, at the same time shows that we shall necessarily, sooner or later, be stopped in our investigations, and be obliged to seek for another guide, or run the risk of remaining for ever in darkness and uncertainty. Such a system assigns to philosophy and to religion each its true place. Their respective positions have been often strangely misapprehended. They have been viewed, not as successive stages of the same science, but as rival methods of teaching the same truths. If this were the case, then either the one or the other would be useless. If with the light of our reason alone we could penetrate into the deepest recesses of our souls and solve the dark mysteries which envelope our existence, if philosophy could give a satisfactory answer to those questions which have perplexed the wisest, — What am I? Whence come I? Whither am I going? — then might we not ask, To what purpose religion? Might not Christ have remained in his glory on the right hand of the Father, instead of taking a human form and submitting to all the evils attendant on a human life? Might he not have spared himself the sufferings of the most cruel of deaths? A correct view of our own nature will show us that philosophy is but the introduction to religion, the vesti-

bule of the temple. Free to choose between good and evil, ignorance and knowledge, man may content himself with the imperfect and uncertain instructions of philosophy, or complete his knowledge by the aid of religion; he may read the first volume of his history, and neglect the second; he may pause in the vestibule of the temple as in a labyrinth, or take one step more, lift the veil which covers the sanctuary, and penetrate into the deepest mysteries of our being.

A work, founded on this distinction between philosophy and religion, must necessarily begin with a minute and careful examination of the nature, the faculties, and the desires of man. Let us endeavour to follow M. Coquerel in this research.

Man has the consciousness of his own existence, and of his individuality. He alone, of all the animals that inhabit this earth, has a clear and distinct notion of himself and of what surrounds him. From this conviction naturally result two facts, — that man has not always existed, and that the source whence his life has sprung is not within himself. Man knows that he has not always existed, because, as he has the consciousness of a present, he would, then, have also within himself the evidence of a past existence. He, moreover, knows that he did not create himself; for if he had the power of creation, he would also have the power of maintaining his existence. On a further examination, man discovers within himself different powers or tendencies, which may be thus classed: — 1. the intellectual power, the object of which is knowledge; 2. the moral power, the object of which is virtue; 3. the affective power, which leads man to desire to form certain relations with his fellow-creatures; 4. the feeling power, which tends to a complete satisfaction of man's desire, — to perfect happiness; 5. the religious power, which induces man to seek for an object which he may adore.

The ideal notion of knowledge, of virtue, of love, of happiness, and of religion, which man has conceived in all stages of civilization, is but the object of these powers or tendencies. To deny that such an ideal exists is to declare that all the faculties, all the powers, of man are directed towards an unattainable object. This ideal does exist; it is the object of our life; it must be attained.

These few and simple observations on the nature and the desires of man at once destroy three of the most erroneous

philosophical systems which have ever existed in the world, — pantheism, pyrrhonism, and absolute spiritualism.

We know that we exist; we feel our individuality. There is, then, something in nature which is not God. Pantheism is destroyed.

This consciousness of our existence is alike fatal to a system of absolute doubt; since this one fact, at least, is indisputable and undisputed.

And, finally, a system of absolute spiritualism can no longer subsist; for the knowledge we have of ourselves and of what is not us teaches us that matter exists.

From these considerations, man rises to a higher and purer conception, that of the existence of God. He feels that God exists; for, if God did not exist, the religious tendency which he finds within himself would be without an object. God is the ideal of the mind. This ideal is one. God is one. How simple and how beautiful are these thoughts! I am; and because I am, God is. That which it is vain to seek to prove by a philosophical demonstration is made evident by the religious instinct we have within us, and is alike revealed to the greatest and the most humble minds. If God is one, every thing that is not God is created. Man, then, was created by God. The object of this creation is the complete satisfaction of all the powers and tendencies of man. Arrived at this degree of knowledge, we are stopped by an impenetrable mystery, that of our liberty. We cannot comprehend how God, who has created us and who watches over us, should have left us entire liberty to use as we like the faculties with which we have been endowed. To this mystery, as to all mysteries, there is no answer. We all believe in our liberty and at the same time in the omniscience of God; but we cannot reconcile these two notions, which seem contradictory. To understand this mystery, it would be necessary to understand how God, when he had created the world, withdrew his almighty hand from his work. We are as much at a loss to comprehend how God leaves the heavenly bodies suspended in the universe, or how, after having formed the material world, he allows it to follow its laws, as to know how we can enjoy our liberty while God sees all that we are doing. The field in which this liberty is to be exercised is boundless, for the object of the powers of which we have recognized the existence within us is infinite. We can al-

ways approach nearer to God, or separate ourselves more from him. "What a distance," says our author, "between him to whom it was said, 'Where is thy brother Abel?' or him of whom the Saviour said, 'It had been good for that man if he had not been born,' and a Moses, with whom 'the Lord spake as a man speaketh unto his friend,' or a St. Paul, who desires to leave the world 'to be with Christ'! And yet neither of these examples shows the last degree of separation, or the most complete union, between God and man." An eternal life can alone suffice for man to fulfil his destiny and to approach the throne of God. However high he may have risen, he will still have to ascend. The angels are even "charged with folly" by God; the heavens themselves, that is, those who people them, "are not clean in his sight." Man is, then, immortal. If the object of all our faculties, of all our desires, is God, must we not be immortal? Would the narrow limits of a condition, which, whether after years or centuries, must end, be sufficient for the accomplishment of our destiny? No. The time can never come, when we shall possess sufficient science to authorize us to say, We know enough. The time can never come, when our religious aspirations will be so completely satisfied, that we shall feel ourselves near enough to God. The time can never come, when our affections will be so entirely gratified, that we can say, We have loved enough. We are immortal, and during the successive stages of our immortality we shall have the same consciousness of individuality that we have during our present existence. If we were to lose that consciousness, it would be matter of little or no importance to us whether we were immortal or not. The activity of man is uninterrupted. Thus generation after generation follow on that eternal road at the end of which is the Infinite.

"A new principle is an inexhaustible source of new views." This remark of a distinguished French philosopher* is perfectly correct. If we take the principles which we have laid down as the basis of our philosophical and religious system, we shall view in a different light many of the most difficult and interesting problems of our destiny. We shall regard the notions of time and space, for example, as the necessary corollaries of these principles. Space is but the stage on which our activity is to be exercised; time, the successive

* Vauvenargues, Maxime 211.

gradations through which we must pass, in order to make that progress which we all so ardently desire. The terrestrial paradise, that golden age of virtue and innocence, of which all nations have dreamed, is the time when we were fulfilling our destiny, when we were advancing towards God ; the fall of man, that fatal moment, when, instead of following the higher tendencies of his nature, he first trod that path which must lead him farther and farther from his Creator. From this change in the moral condition of man has resulted physical suffering. It is difficult to comprehend how so intimate a connection can exist between the moral and the physical world ; but it would be still more difficult to understand how a world, created for a pure and innocent being, could continue the same after the fall of that being.

Applied to each individual life, the principles we have established will throw much light on some points that now seem obscure. Thus, our birth will appear to us but as our first entrance upon that sphere of activity, which is the world we now inhabit ; life, but the length of time allotted us for our mortal task ; and death, but the moment when, throwing aside our mortal body, — as a traveller, fatigued and harassed by the length of his route, throws off his soiled and dusty garments when he has arrived at his home, — we shall take possession of the new and better organization which awaits us on the other side of the grave. The moment of our death is, then, the moment of our resurrection. Between our life and our immortality there is nothing, — nothing but that solemn moment, which to the unbeliever and to the bigot is so full of gloom, but which to the true Christian is only a moment of rejoicing and of thanksgiving, for to him that moment is but as the delivery of a soul from its prison-house. The declaration of Christ to the repentant malefactor, " *To-day* shalt thou be with me in paradise," may, then, be interpreted literally. And, finally, we shall better understand what is meant by the end of the world. What death is to an individual, the end of the world will be to the race. When all the resources of this earth shall have been exhausted, all its mysteries unravelled, all its beauties admired, it will become useless, and be cast aside as an instrument that can no longer be made serviceable. As to the moment when this final and solemn conclusion of the destinies of mankind in this world will take place, Christ himself has said, — " But of that day and that hour knoweth no man, no, not the angels which are in

heaven, neither the Son, but the Father." But this we do know, that that moment need not be a subject of dark and gloomy forebodings. On the contrary, it will be an epoch of glory for mankind. It will be the last triumph of man in this world, his final deliverance from the shackles of matter.

This view of the nature of man, and the contradiction we find between his faculties and his present condition, naturally leads us to the thought, that he is not in the position for which he was created. None of his legitimate aspirations or desires are satisfied. With an ideal conception of what our faculties should attain, we are ever prevented from realizing this conception. The fable of Tantalus is the history of mankind. It is natural that we should seek a remedy for this evil. Thus for the first time, in this *experimental* system, the idea of a redemption is suggested. The object of a redemption must be to stop man in the course which is estranging him from his Creator, and to place him once more on the right path. Such a redemption, being intended for the whole human race, could not be produced by a secret agency working in the heart of each individual. It must be manifested in the person of a Saviour. The nature of the being who is to undertake so important a work must be of that kind which will enable him to hold communion with God, and at the same time to take a human form and live amongst men as one of them. If a Saviour had appeared in the world of so sublime and divine-like a nature as to fill his contemporaries with more of awe than of love, his mission would have been in vain. To show man the path which he is to tread, it is necessary that a Saviour should tread this path himself. He must go through all the different stages of a human life, he must die, he must rise from the dead. In all outward aspects he must belong to the country and to the age which are chosen for his mission. The moment selected for the appearance of a Saviour in the world seems at first to be a matter of little importance. It is not so, however. If man has the power to separate himself more and more from God, the time might come when he could no longer retrace his steps and tread once more the path which leads him towards his Maker. It was, then, necessary that the Redeemer of the world should appear at that precise moment when evil had reached its highest point of intensity. If he had come into the world before that moment, the liberty of man would not have been respected; had he come after that mo-

ment, it would have been too late ; his mission would have been in vain.

At a certain period in the history of mankind such a Saviour was given to the world. That he was the Saviour is proved by the time of his coming, — at a moment when virtue and truth seemed alike banished from the world, when man had fallen so low that he did not even attempt to assert his rights as a member of the human race, but accepted his abject and degraded condition as a matter of course and without a murmur, — at a time when the gladiator consented to lay down his life in the bloody amphitheatre for the amusement of an indolent and corrupt assembly, — at a time, finally, when, in the midst of orgies of which history blushes to record the obscenity, the rich were wont to place on their tables an ivory skeleton, as a memento of the brevity of life, and when "Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die," was a common and favorite maxim. Jesus Christ then appeared ; the world was arrested in its progress towards evil ; the *world was overcome.* Since then the progress of mankind has been constant on the road of peace, truth, and charity. There may have been, in the eighteen centuries which have elapsed since Christ came into the world, moments when mankind have seemed to retrograde, but no one can honestly deny that each successive age of the Christian era has been superior to the preceding.

That Jesus Christ was the Saviour is, moreover, proved by the place selected for his mission. Situated near the Mediterranean Sea, Palestine may be considered as the historical centre of the Old World. Originating in such a position, the new faith could the sooner spread to neighbouring countries. Had its birthplace been more remote from the Western world, the stationary and immovable habits of the Asiatic race might have stifled it in its blossom. If, on the contrary, its birthplace had been in Europe, there would have been danger, with the ardent and changeable character of the race which inhabits that continent, that the tradition of the coming of Christ would have been so disfigured and perverted by the time he did appear in the world, that he would not have been recognized, but have been received as a stranger. No nation was better qualified than the Jews to be the guardians of the promise of a Saviour. That it was necessary that the mission of Jesus Christ should be announced to the world scarcely needs to be proved. If it be true that the

redemption was a necessary complement of the creation, the notion of a Saviour must have existed ever since the fall of man. Hence, also, the notion of a revelation, that is to say, a book in which the coming of a Saviour is announced, and in which is contained the realization of this promise. A revelation must be in part divine, in part human. The divine part of a revelation is called inspiration. To the idea that parts of the Scriptures are inspired, it is objected by some that God in creating man must have given him faculties which would enable him to discover truths without any subsequent Divine intervention. Those who reason thus forget that man is not what God made him. If man had followed the path which might have led him nearer and nearer to his Creator, he would have required no assistance from above. The necessity of a redemption is the sole cause of this mysterious communication between God and man. Without sin, no redemption is requisite ; without a redemption, inspiration is unnecessary. Others object to inspiration on the ground that it is an inexplicable mystery. How presumptuous are those who reason thus ! Do they not see, that, in order to understand how God transmits his thoughts to man, it would be necessary to know how God thinks ?

There is another objection to inspiration, which, at first view, seems to be better founded. It has been asked, — What proof have we of the truth of inspiration ? It were indeed vain for a man to declare himself inspired, and to pretend to speak in the name of God, if he could give no proof of the veracity of his statement. An assertion so extraordinary requires some evidence. This evidence cannot be internal. A man may call himself inspired, and may believe himself so, and yet be a madman. Some external evidence is necessary. This evidence may be of two kinds. The truth of inspiration may be proved by a prophecy or by a miracle. The annunciation of coming events has been considered as a violation of human liberty. This is but another view of the great question of human liberty, and does in no way render the mystery greater. If God is God, that is to say, if he is an omniscient being, we must admit that none of our actions are hidden from him. If, then, at times, for some great purpose, he makes known to the world events which would otherwise remain hidden in the future, we cannot conceive that the liberty of man is more affected than if these events were not foretold. God knows that the Saviour has a false friend

who is about to betray him, and the Saviour himself announces the crime of Judas. We do not see in what way the liberty of Judas is more affected than if this event had not been announced.

The power of prophecy must of course be considered as a great proof of the truth of inspiration. But this proof is not sufficient. Such evidence can be conclusive only for those who live, not at the time when the prophecy is made, but at the moment when it is accomplished. The contemporaries of him who calls himself inspired must also have some proof of the veracity of this assertion. If he possesses the power of performing miracles, he will be believed. A miracle has commonly been defined to be a momentary suspension of the laws of nature. This definition is evidently erroneous. To declare that an event has taken place in virtue of a momentary suspension of the laws which govern the world, it would be necessary to know all these laws. Where is the man who would presume to pretend to so much knowledge? The views of our author on this important subject are as follows. As the object of the redemption of mankind was to lead the world back to the state it was in before the fall of man, it must have the power to revive for a time those forces which existed in the world prior to that event, and which since then have remained latent. A miracle, then, is simply the result of these forces brought into action by the regeneration of the world. Miracles thus become a necessary portion of a revelation. They not only prove what we have already said, that physical suffering was the result of moral evil; they moreover prove the efficacy of a redemption which has the power to revive the hidden forces of nature. But it may be objected to this theory, that some of the events which are related in the Scriptures as miraculous are in perfect harmony with the well known laws of our nature. This is true; but they are nevertheless miracles, because they occur by the order of some inspired man. A violent wind might blow and separate the waters of the Red Sea; but that this event should have happened at the order of Moses, so that the Israelites might pass through the sea, it is this that constitutes the miracle. No miracle occurs except on the order of one inspired; and the reason is obvious. If the miracle was in contradiction to the laws of nature with which we are acquainted, it would be considered as an extraordinary event, as a phenomenon; if, on the other hand,

it was in perfect harmony with the laws of nature of which we have a certain knowledge, it would pass unnoticed. In either case, it would be without use. By this theory it will be seen that M. Coquerel takes nothing from the importance of the miracles. He not only believes in their truth, but even denies that a redemption could have been effected without their aid. They form an important, an essential, part of revelation. They are the evidence of the right of the ancient prophets to announce the coming of the Saviour; they are, moreover, the guaranty of the truth of his mission.

Thus, by a natural and simple train of thought, we are led to the notion of a redemption, which we find realized in history with abundant proof. But were we left to our own reason, we should still be convinced of the truth of Christ's mission. Who, if it were not a fact, could have imagined a life so perfect as that of Jesus, under circumstances similar to those of every human life? Who could have imagined the Son of God, the Messiah, the Saviour of the world, under the humble garb of Jesus of Nazareth? The mind could undoubtedly have pictured to itself the ideal of human perfection; it could have clothed a being with all the attributes which it would desire for itself; but it could never have imagined the solemn, yet simple, scenes of the life of Christ,—his birth in a manger at Bethlehem, his pure and holy life, those scenes of his mortal career in which he showed himself so similar to us in all things excepting sin, his tears for the death of Lazarus, his joy at the success of the preaching of his disciples, his humble bearing towards his mother, his slow and painful death on the cross, his touching farewell to his mother and to the beloved disciple, and, finally, his glorious resurrection! No. Left to itself, the mind would have overdrawn the picture. An ideal Christ would have been either too distinct from, or too similar to, those amongst whom he was to live and die.

Now that we have arrived at the notion of a redemption, and find this notion has been realized in the world by the mission of Jesus Christ, let us examine, with our author, into the manner in which we ought to understand revelation. The first thought which presents itself here is, that the Christian religion, as revealed in the New Testament, has been commonly considered as mere instruction, as a theoretical collection of doctrines. To this view M. Coquerel objects. According to him, Christianity is something far better, far

more practical. It is a new and salutary impulse given to mankind. It addresses itself alike to all the faculties, to all the tendencies, of our nature. Had it been but a cold and lifeless system, like the philosophical systems of antiquity, it would have addressed itself to but one of these tendencies; it would have addressed itself to the intellectual power alone. In other words, Christianity is not theology. He, who reads the Scriptures with a view merely to examine certain theological points, understands them not. He takes a part of religion for the whole. He considers it merely as a science, forgetting that the Saviour himself has said, — "If ye *know* these things, happy are ye if ye *do* them." In the Scriptures, instruction is never considered as an object, but solely as a means of attaining to a more spiritual life, and to a better knowledge of God. The method employed in the revelation is either to make truth visible by means of indisputable facts, or to present it as certain, or to state it as an axiom, or to leave it in so dim and vague a light that our reason cannot entirely understand it.

There are but few truths taught in the Scriptures by the first of these methods. The greatest of these is, unquestionably, the resurrection of Christ. In an age when the external appearances of death had hidden from the general eye the truth of the immortality of the soul, it was necessary to show by a fact that man rises from the dead the same as when he descends into the grave, — that is to say, that his identity is preserved, that he knows his friends, and that they know him.

All those truths, which are so intimately connected with the Infinite as not to be susceptible of demonstration, are considered as certain in the Scriptures. These truths are the attributes of God, our creation, our liberty, and Divine Providence. Here is another proof that revelation was not intended as a didactic work. The Scriptures are full of these truths; they form the very basis of our religion; and yet, throughout the Bible, there is no demonstration of them.

The truths which are considered as axioms are those which relate directly to our condition in this world. Not a word is to be found in the Scriptures on the organization of the family or of society, on personal freedom, political order, or many other questions which form the object of so much of our speculation. If the Gospels were the work of man, and not of God, they would be replete with theories on all these

subjects. How different is the work of God! To all the errors which existed in the world with regard to these important questions at the time of the ministry of Christ, the Gospel opposes no argument, no vituperations. It does not attack despotism as the most flagrant violation of all human rights, or polygamy as the subversion of all morality. The only arms it uses against them are the fundamental principles, the spirit, of Christianity. "Our religion," says M. Coquerel, "is the first and only religion which has shown this astonishing confidence in the authority of truth, to take the world as it found it, without directly attacking any of its forces, to throw truth, as by chance, into the midst of it, like the invisible seed which is sown by the wind, and to predict that this seed will certainly take root and grow into that large tree under the shade of which mankind may take refuge against every error and every evil."

There are, finally, some truths which are left in so vague a light as to be incomprehensible to us in our present mode of existence. To the following questions, some of which have been the cause of so much strife in the Christian world, the Scriptures give no satisfactory reply: — What is the divine nature of Christ? How are the soul and body united? Does all communication cease between the living and the dead? What will be the organization of man in another world? What is the nature of angels and demons? These questions remain unanswered, it is true, because in our present condition the solution of such problems is entirely unnecessary for our progress. We do not mean, however, to say that an examination of these curious and interesting problems must necessarily be dangerous. Philosophy and religion may alike speculate on them, provided they do not attempt to give to the results of their investigations an importance which they cannot really possess.

In this rapid sketch of the work under review, we have now arrived at a point where it becomes necessary to inquire into the future destinies of our religion. We must now endeavour to ascertain what are the triumphs reserved for Christianity both in this world and throughout eternity. The first thought that naturally strikes us in connection with this subject is, that Christianity is the final religion of mankind. Jesus Christ is the only Saviour who will ever be given to the world. We have two guaranties of this fact. First, the Christian religion is entirely independent of

every thing which surrounds it. It can exist in all places, in every climate, under all governments, and with every degree of civilization. How different in this respect from all false religions! You may destroy the Sinai or the Calvary, Rome, Wittenberg, or Geneva, and efface them from the memory of man, — the Christian religion will still exist. If you destroy Jerusalem and its temple, the Jewish religion has no longer any meaning; Christianity may plant its standard on any shore and in every soil. False religions are dependent even on the differences of climate which exist in different countries. The symbolism of the Egyptians cannot be conceived of elsewhere than on the borders of the Nile, that of the Indians but in the valley of the Ganges or the Indus; the mythology of Greece belongs to the warm and genial climate of that lovely land, that of Odin to the cold and frosty climate of the North. Thus independent of every thing external, Christianity must be the final religion of mankind.

The second guaranty which we have that Christianity is the final religion of mankind is still more conclusive. It addresses itself alike to all our powers, to all our tendencies. To the intellectual power it promises infinite knowledge; from the moral power it demands perfection; from the affections it demands love without end towards God and a similar love for our fellow-men. St. John says, — "He that loveth not his brother whom he hath seen, how can he love God whom he hath not seen?" To the tendency toward happiness our religion promises eternal felicity; and, finally, Christianity satisfies our religious tendency in showing us that our union with God may become more and more perfect. A religion which thus takes hold of man by all his faculties must be the final religion of mankind. A new religion would find nothing new to teach.

The influence of Christianity has been as yet of two kinds. It has had a direct influence on those who profess it, and an indirect influence on those who do not believe in its doctrines, or who are ignorant even of its existence. All the progress made in the world for the last eighteen centuries may be ascribed to it. But this indirect influence is not sufficient. If Christianity is the final religion of mankind, the time must come when all men will profess its doctrines. This time will come. But before our religion can become the universal religion of the human race, it must

undergo different changes or modifications, which our author classes under the following heads.

First, Christianity must be freed from all ecclesiastical rules. The moral and religious laws which are given in the Scriptures are general, and never enter into minute details of conduct. The application of the law is left to each individual. The liberty of man is thus respected. In the Gospels, we do not even find any forms of prayer or of public worship prescribed; any rules as to the rites of marriage or the duties of a married life, to death or mourning for the dead. Man, and man alone, has attempted to prescribe a certain number of rules, which cannot with impunity be transgressed. Such a course is in direct opposition to the spirit of Christianity. It is, moreover, absurd and impracticable. In endeavouring to write down rules of conduct which man must follow, who can pretend not to forget a single article? Happy would it be, however, for Christianity, if the sins committed in these dangerous attempts were only sins of omission.* It is a cheering sight to the Christian, to observe that many Catholics of the present day prefer to seek in their own conscience for the approbation or condemnation of their actions, rather than from their confessor. Christianity must, and will ultimately, be entirely freed from this pernicious system.

Christianity must, in the second place, be freed from all clerical hierarchy. It is evident that the distinction of the layman from the priest is not as old as our religion. Thus, for example, the administering of the sacrament was, in the early ages, a family rite. The father of the family was in the habit of breaking the bread and distributing it to his children. Whether the time will come or not when Christianity can entirely dispense with all outward forms of worship, and consequently with a clergy to celebrate that worship, is a question which we cannot solve. The progress which our religion must make in this respect will tend to destroy all clerical hierarchy, to make all the ministers of God equal. This progress has been attained in many Protestant churches. It will finally be universal.

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* M. Coquerel published a few years ago an admirable letter to the Archbishop of Lyons, on the subject of a work published in his diocese entitled, — "Collationes praticæ of the Seminary of St. Flour," — a work in which are recorded crimes and abominations which one would rather expect to find in the Epigrams of Martial than in the productions of a priest.

Christianity must, thirdly, be set free from all authority, no matter under what name it shows itself. No man and no body of men has a right to step between God and the Christian. All obligatory professions of faith will be abolished.

Our religion must also be delivered from all exaggeration in respect to the importance of outward forms. The principle, that God is spirit, and must be worshipped in spirit and in truth, and that it matters little what are the forms of this worship, must be universally adopted. A truly Christian spirit may be hidden under the most absurd and vain ceremonies.

Christianity must likewise be delivered from all superstitious views as to the literal interpretation of the Scriptures.

Our religion must, finally, be freed from the belief, that faith in a certain dogmatic interpretation of the Scriptures is necessary to salvation. Much progress has already been made in this respect. Christian communities are already beginning to be convinced that a man may be truly Christian, although his interpretation of the Scriptures be entirely opposed to their own. The conscience of the Christian world is indignant, when, in our own times, a bull is issued from the pontifical throne of Rome, declaring that moral virtue is of no value in the sight of God, or when such men as Newton, Clarke, and Locke are declared to be bad Christians because they did not believe in the doctrine of the Trinity. When the whole world shall have been convinced that there is but one faith necessary to salvation, that which each man has formed for himself by the sincere and conscientious study of revelation, then the final triumphs of Christianity in this world will be at hand. For the last eighteen centuries man has sought in vain for peace and harmony in a complete unity of doctrine and of faith. Let him seek for this peace in the unity of all Christian hearts, and his search will not be vain.

Such are the changes through which Christianity must pass before it can become the universal religion of mankind. If we now ask what changes our religion must undergo before it can become the religion of eternity, the idea will naturally present itself, that Christianity must be freed from the notions of time and space. If we view our religion in this new light, we shall naturally be led to consider heaven and hell, not as two distinct places, in which the just are rewarded and the sinner is punished, but as two different dispositions of the

mind. In a future existence, we shall be what we have made ourselves. If we have used our faculties to approach God, we shall be recompensed by the approbation of our conscience; if we have used them, on the contrary, to separate ourselves from him, we shall suffer all the pangs of an evil conscience. The question here presents itself, whether these sufferings will be eternal, whether there is no hope of a final reconciliation between God and all his children. The answer to such questions is simple. It is possible for man eternally to misuse his faculties. We have already said that the road which leads him away from God is as infinite as the road which leads him towards his Heavenly Father. Man may, then, eternally suffer, because he may eternally do wrong. But, because this possibility exists, ought we to believe that it will ever be realized? Is it not more in harmony with the consoling instructions of our religion, to believe that the time will come when God will be all in all? We have, indeed, in the nature of man, almost a certain guaranty that he will not be eternally miserable. If he retain the consciousness of his actions in another life, he will know that he has sinned, and that therefore he suffers. Is it not natural, then, to suppose that he will seek to rise from his state of degradation and to join those heavenly legions who are on the road of progress? We confidently believe that the time will come when all beings will form but one great family. We cannot but pity those who wilfully deny themselves so beautiful and consoling an expectation, and who believe that an eternity of suffering awaits every sinner. But, alas! what shall we say of those who believe that all who do not profess the same creed with themselves will be irretrievably lost? We turn from such a deplorable aberration of the human mind, and thank God that we do not believe in so horrible a doctrine. We can cast our eyes over the whole extent of this world and contemplate the beings who people it, without fearing to meet the eye of one — yes, not even of one — sentenced to so hard a doom.

We have endeavoured, in the preceding pages, to trace, as rapidly as possible, the principal features of M. Coquerel's remarkable work. It will be seen that he examines frankly and thoroughly all the problems which our religion suggests. Whether we accept his conclusions or not, the position which he holds in France and the influence which he exerts entitle his opinions to consideration, especially when deliber-

ately expressed with a reference to the present interests of society and religion. To say how soon the pure Christianity of which he has given the outline in this book will be popular in France is beyond the reach of human foresight. In a country which is comparatively new to so pure a faith, it can hardly be expected that it should be immediately adopted. But the time will certainly come, when the French, as all other nations, will relinquish the superstitious errors of the past and adopt a Christianity founded on a broader and more liberal basis. Our unshaken confidence in the truth of our religion, and in the purity of the form of Christianity which we profess, renders us firm in our belief that the time will certainly come, when all Christians will agree, not on theological points, which will ever remain open to discussion, but on all subjects essential to their progress in this world and throughout the different stages of their future existence. The time will come, when the spiritual power of the pope will no longer be felt in its influence on mankind; perhaps the activity which has rendered Pius IX. so popular is but a display of that preternatural strength which not unfrequently announces an approaching dissolution. The time will come, when the confessions of faith of La Rochelle and of Augsburg, or the contradictory articles adopted by the Church of England, will no longer be considered as binding. And all these changes will occur without much struggle. The churches now dedicated to the Roman Catholic worship will be converted into Protestant temples; they will not be destroyed. The tapers which burn on the altars, as if the light of the sun were not a light sufficient for the worship of God, will be extinguished; the works of art which adorn them will be transported to some museum; the confessional will be removed; the priest in his rich and varied dresses will no longer officiate at an altar stripped of all its splendor; incense will no longer rise to the Gothic roof; but multitudes will still throng the church to hear the word of God read and explained.

We could wish, for M. Coquerel's sake, that he might live to witness these tranquil triumphs of Christianity over the errors of the past. Few men, indeed, have done more towards hastening the religious progress of their country than he. Those who are acquainted with his life know how much courage it has required to hold his ground in the Reformed Church of Paris. Surrounded by clergymen who believe in the creed of St. Athanasius, and in the impossibility of salva-

tion for those who do not accept that masterpiece of human ingenuity, he has been constantly attacked by his colleagues in the most bitter manner. To these invectives he has replied with firmness, but without overstepping the limits of Christian charity. Peace and unity in the Church have been the constant theme of his eloquent preaching. We remember to have heard him on one occasion, after having exhorted his hearers to maintain peace with those of their brethren whose doctrinal views differed from their own, exclaim: — "Do you not hear the sound of those who are waiting at the doors of this church to be admitted to commune with you? O, no! You hear them not. The noise of our vain and sterile disputes has buried their voice!" May his perseverance and his courage be recompensed! When at the hour of his death he shall look around him and does not see the seed which he has sown bursting forth into a rich and fertile harvest, he will console himself with the thought that he has done his duty, and that God will do the rest. He will remember that St. Paul has said: — "I have planted, Apollos watered, but God gave the increase." R. W.

Art. II. — DOCTRINAL INSTRUCTION IN SUNDAY SCHOOLS.*

"Should the doctrines of Christianity be systematically taught in our Sunday schools?" was a question proposed by the Secretary of the Sunday School Society to several correspondents, while preparing his Annual Report. It is discussed in the latter part of that Report, as fully as its proper limits would permit. We deem it a very important question, and one which demands, at this particular time, the careful consideration of every friend of pure Christianity. We say, "at this particular time," because we fear that there is in many minds a strange aversion to the whole subject of doctrinal discussion or instruction, both in the pulpit and in the Sunday school. The older members of our most

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* *The Nineteenth Annual Report of the Sunday School Society, with an Account of the Proceedings at the Public Annual Meeting, 26th of May*, 1847. Boston: S. G. Simpkins. 1847. 12mo. pp. 24.

firmly established religious societies, who were interested in the controversy upon Christian doctrines which took place between the Unitarians and their opponents some years ago, acquired clear and distinct views of the doctrines of Christianity as held by Unitarians, in distinction from the doctrines of other denominations, of the arguments by which they are supported, and of the way in which objections to them are answered. But, at the same time, they became wearied with the process, and disgusted, perhaps, with the unchristian bitterness that too often accompanies controversy, if it be not generated by it. And the natural consequence has been an aversion, in many of our older societies, to distinct doctrinal discussion, or direct and systematic efforts to teach the doctrines which are embraced. It is much to be feared, therefore, that the younger portion of such societies are growing up without any well settled and distinctly defined opinions, liable, in after life, to be "driven about by every wind of doctrine" to which they may be exposed. And there is great danger, also, that, from the want of clear and distinct views upon the doctrines of Christianity, their religious principles will become weak or unsettled, and they will be driven by difficulties or allured by temptations from the path of moral virtue and Christian holiness. We thank the Secretary of the Sunday School Society for having called the attention of the community to this question, "Should the doctrines of Christianity be systematically taught in our Sunday schools?"

The question takes it for granted that there are certain "doctrines of Christianity." And this the members of every Christian denomination sincerely believe. They may differ widely upon the question as to what these doctrines are; but they all believe that Christianity is not without its own distinct and peculiar doctrines, — that Jesus Christ and his Apostles in teaching Christianity did teach these doctrines. But what place, we very naturally ask, did they assign them in their teaching? Did they teach doctrines as matters of importance, as essential parts of Christianity, or as mere incidental appendages, which might be attached to the system or separated from it, without, in either case, seriously affecting its character or its practical influence? It seems to us that the doctrines of Christianity were taught by our Saviour and his Apostles as essential parts of the religion, — without which it would not be what it now is. We can

form no conception of a Christianity entirely divested of all the doctrines which our Saviour and his Apostles taught. It is from these peculiar doctrines that it derives in part its peculiar character. If, then, we would teach Christianity in our Sunday schools, we must teach its doctrines, because they constitute some of its essential parts, and serve, in some measure, to give it its peculiar character.

May not the aspect of this question be somewhat changed by a simple change of terms? Suppose that, in our question, we substitute the term *truths* for the term *doctrines*. It would then read, "Should the truths of Christianity be systematically taught in our Sunday schools?" And does not the question, in this form, convey precisely the same meaning intended in its original form? But can there be found those who will advocate the negative of the question in this form, — the teaching of Christianity without its truths? What is the object of Sunday school instruction? Is it not to make our children acquainted with Christianity, to give them a clear mental conception of what it is, in its truths, principles, precepts, and spirit, that so their knowledge of Christianity may become to them the means of making them true and devoted Christians? It must be ever borne in mind, that our children will carry out from our Sunday schools precisely that knowledge of Christianity which is there taught them. If we teach only select portions of the Gospel, then will they carry forth with them into life only a partial knowledge of religion. And not only so, but there will be great danger, that, from the very circumstance of their being so instructed, they will imbibe either a strong prejudice against seeking an acquaintance with other portions of the Gospel system or a feeling of utter indifference in regard to them. Are there any friends to the best influences of Christianity, who would be willing to have our children, as they become men and women, carry out into the world with them, as their guide in duty, their strength in temptation, their support in trial, a Christianity in which are incorporated none of the doctrines of Christianity, — in other words, none of the truths of Christianity? And even if this should be attempted, would the system taught be the Christianity of Christ and his Apostles?

We are aware that there are many who object to teaching doctrines in our Sunday schools. "What we wish," say they, "is, that our children should be there trained to the ex-

ercise of right feelings and the formation of right principles, — truly Christian feelings and principles. If this result be secured, it matters not whether they are made familiar with the doctrines of Christianity or not." But how, it may be asked, are we to awaken right feelings? We wish our children to be filled with love to God. How are we to awaken this love? Must it not be by teaching them something, some truths, some doctrines, in regard to the existence and character of the God we wish them to love? If our children have no distinct conceptions of the existence or character of God, can they be filled with love to him? Or if God be represented to them in a hateful light, as a cruel, arbitrary, and vindictive being, will they delight to think of him, will they cherish a trusting, confiding, filial love to him? The feelings, then, which our children may cherish in regard to God will depend, not only upon their being taught some doctrines or truths respecting him, but, in a very great degree, upon the character of the representations that are made of the truths that are taught respecting God.

Again, if we wish to cherish and cultivate in our children deep, heartfelt, all-embracing love to man, how are we to awaken this love? When we look upon the debased and the degraded, upon the savage and the barbarous among men, is there any thing in their obvious appearance to awaken in our hearts deep sentiments of love to them? The love of men, which we wish to cherish in the hearts of our children, is founded, not upon the obvious appearances presented, as we take a cursory glance at the world, but upon Christian doctrines or truths in regard to man as a spiritual being, capable of spiritual elevation, purity, and holiness, — as a child of God, — as our own brother. With these truths clearly defined and distinctly embraced, we can cherish love, Christian love, for the most debased, abandoned, and wretched of our fellow-men, because with the eye of faith we can look beneath all this wretchedness and degradation, and discover a spiritual nature created for high and holy employments, and capable, if the power of the Gospel can be brought to bear upon it, of being, even yet, emancipated from its bondage to sin, and elevated to heavenly holiness and happiness. But this love grows out of, and is founded upon, the doctrines or truths taught by Christianity concerning man. If, then, we would, in our Sunday schools, truly awaken love to man in the hearts

of our children, — love which shall be all-embracing in its reach, and self-sacrificing in its efforts for man's elevation and improvement, — we must teach them the doctrines or truths of Christianity in regard to man. And so it is with all the various feelings and emotions which we wish to nourish in the hearts of our children. They grow out of, and are founded upon, certain doctrines or truths of Christianity.

And as to right principles, will not the same position hold true? Are not these also founded on Christian truths or doctrines? We wish, for example, to send the children who are now pupils in our Sunday schools out into the world with such principles deeply implanted in their hearts as will prevent their ever departing, in their future transactions of business, from the line of strict rectitude, and with such principles as will prevent them, in their future political efforts, from indulging unchristian feelings, or pursuing unchristian courses. How shall we do this? On what shall we erect these principles? We must teach our children something more than merely that honesty is the best policy. We must teach them the doctrines or truths of Christianity in regard to God's constant presence with them and constant moral inspection over them, and in regard to their accountability to God. We must teach them the doctrines or truths of Christianity in regard to their own spiritual natures, and the danger there is of polluting, debasing, degrading their own souls by indulgence in wrong-doing. We must teach them the doctrines or truths of Christianity in regard to the indissoluble and eternal connection established by the laws of God's spiritual kingdom, and inwrought into the very texture and constitution of our spiritual natures, between sin and misery, between holiness and happiness. On these great and important doctrines, distinctly comprehended and firmly believed, may rest, as upon a sure foundation, the principle of unswerving devotion to right and duty, amid all the temptations and allurements, all the trials and disappointments, of life. But, unless these and other appropriate truths are taught, on what can we build any well-grounded hope that our pupils will carry with them into their future mercantile or political life principles which will prevent them from departing, in a season of trial or an hour of temptation, from the line of strict rectitude and Christian integrity?

We might refer to other principles. But we have said enough to illustrate our position on this point. We sincerely

believe, then, that children cannot be trained up in the best exercise of true Christian feelings, or to the complete establishment of Christian principles in their hearts, unless they are taught the truths or doctrines of Christianity, as the fountain that is to sustain the constant flow of these feelings, the basis on which these principles may permanently rest. We should, then, teach doctrines in our Sunday schools, in order to cherish true Christian feelings and implant true Christian principles in the hearts of those who are there taught.

We are inclined to believe that many minds have been confused upon this subject, by the fact that there are different opinions held, in regard to the doctrines of Christianity, by different denominations of Christians. Some seem unwilling to teach what they themselves honestly believe to be the true doctrines of Christianity, lest by so doing they should seem to teach, by implication at least, that others who may differ from them are in error. In order to free the mind from all confusion arising from this cause, let us imagine a different state of things. Suppose, then, that there was no difference of opinion upon the doctrines of Christianity, and that there never had been, but that, from the time of our Saviour to the present day, the Christian Church had, with one voice, held precisely the same views of Christian doctrine which we now hold. If, under such circumstances, the question were proposed, whether it were proper to teach the doctrines of Christianity systematically, what would be the answer? Would not every one feel that it would be a fatal omission, should we neglect to communicate to our children those doctrines or truths which were to us the fountain of spiritual life, the source of religious strength, and the justification of our hopes of everlasting bliss beyond the grave? And will the fact, that there are those who do not believe the doctrines which we have embraced, change the grounds of our duty? There are those who reject Christianity entirely, and regard it as wholly an imposition upon the credulity of mankind; shall we, on that account, neglect to instruct our children in Christianity at all? Will our obligations to our children be in the least degree weakened or altered by the fact that others doubt and disbelieve? And will not the same principle hold good in regard to what we believe to be the true doctrines of Christianity? Shall we neglect to teach these to our children, when we honestly believe them to be the true doctrines of the Gospel, simply because others reject them as untrue? Our obligations in

this respect rest not upon the unanimity of the opinions of the community, but upon the firmness and the honesty of our own convictions of the truth and importance of what we would teach.

But it may be said, that we have not as yet touched upon the point at issue, that all will agree to what we have thus far advanced, relating, as it obviously does, to those great, general truths in which all, or nearly all, Christian denominations are united. And the question may be asked, "Would you teach the disputed doctrines in their controversial aspects in our Sunday schools?" To this question we should give a distinct and emphatic affirmative answer. Are we asked for our reasons? We answer, that we do not understand how the New Testament, how the declarations of Jesus, can be thoroughly taught, without doing this. Suppose that we are carrying a class of the older pupils of the school through the New Testament, and we come to the declaration of our Saviour, "I and my Father are one," what shall we do? Shall we say to our pupils, — "That is a passage upon the right interpretation and proper application of which Christians are divided in opinion, and therefore we shall leave it without explanation"? And shall we adopt the same course in regard to all passages upon the interpretation of which there is a difference of opinion among Christians? If so, will not our instructions upon the New Testament be broken and incoherent, superficial and inefficient? Or shall we take a different course, and simply give the explanation which we may regard as the true one, without informing the pupils that there are among Christians other and different opinions in regard to the true meaning of the passage? And shall we in this way be dealing fairly and honestly with the minds of our pupils? They are receiving our instruction as the truth; or, at least, they will naturally infer, if we do not state that there are differences of opinion, that we mean to leave the impression that no such differences exist. They will not understand us as giving them merely our opinion of the meaning of the passage, with the full knowledge, on our part, that it is an opinion in regard to which many wise and good men differ from us. And when in after life those pupils learn that we have passed off upon their confiding minds as the truth what we knew at the time to be only one opinion among several, of the existence of which we did not inform them, will they not have reason to feel that they have not been fairly dealt with?

It seems to us, then, that the proper course would be, when, in giving instruction upon the New Testament to the older pupils in our Sunday schools, we come to passages in regard to which there are differences of opinion, to inform the class that there are such differences, to state the different opinions that are held, together with the reasons or arguments upon which they severally rest, and then explain the reasons why we have adopted the one we would recommend, and why we have rejected the others. In pursuing this course, we should feel that we had dealt fairly with the minds of our pupils, and had placed our interpretation of a disputed passage before their minds in its true light, simply as our opinion, founded upon reasons satisfactory to us. Nor do we understand how we can honestly and thoroughly give instruction upon the New Testament, without in this way teaching the disputed doctrines of Christianity, even in their controversial aspects.

But, again, we would teach the disputed doctrines of Christianity in their controversial aspects, in order to give our children clear views of the truths or doctrines they may embrace, together with the grounds on which a belief in them may rest, and so prevent their becoming bigoted sectarians. We have generally observed, that, among all denominations, other things being equal, the more clear and definite a man's ideas may be of the doctrines he professes to embrace, of the arguments by which they are supported, and of the objections usually alleged against them, together with the way in which these objections may be met and answered, the more truly charitable will he be in his feelings towards those who may differ from him in opinion. And is it not perfectly natural, that the more fully a person has investigated the doctrines which he professes to embrace, the reasons for them, and the objections against them, the more clearly he will be able to perceive that others may be just as honest as himself, and yet embrace opinions different from his own? In order, then, to impart to the rising generation a clear understanding of the doctrines they may embrace, and prevent their becoming in later life narrow-minded and bigoted sectarians, and in order to lay the foundation for their being truly liberal and charitable, even in their attachment to their own opinions, towards those who may differ from them, we would have them taught carefully and systematically the doctrines of Christianity, together with the arguments by which they are supported, the objections alleged against them, and the way in which those objections may be met and answered.

Still further, we have watched carefully the characters and the courses of those who have changed their religious opinions and their denominational relations, and we have observed that they may be divided into two classes. There are those who have from some outward influence connected themselves with Unitarian societies, and have perhaps honestly thought themselves Unitarians in their belief. But they have not fully understood the doctrines of Unitarian Christianity, in all the depth and extent of their spiritual meaning, in all their positive aspects and practical applications. Neither have they made themselves acquainted with the arguments by which these doctrines are supported, nor with the way in which objections to them are to be met and answered. Such sometimes become excited upon the subject of religion, and are led, under the influence of strong religious feelings, to change their denominational relations. We do not say change their religious opinions ; for the truth is, they never clearly understood the doctrines of the denomination they have left, and they seldom take the pains to understand those of the denomination with which they connect themselves. They are influenced more by feeling and impulse than by argument, and what, in either case, they dignify with the name of opinions, might with more propriety be called prejudices. But these are the very persons who, upon changing their denominational relations, are most apt to become extremely bitter in their denunciation of the doctrines embraced by the denomination they have left. There are others, however, who have understood the doctrines they have professed to embrace, have sought to regulate their conduct by a regard to them, and have for a time enjoyed much in the religious strength and Christian peace derived from them, but who have afterwards, for reasons satisfactory to themselves, changed their religious belief and their denominational relations. But such are usually liberal in their feelings towards the denomination they have left, and candid in their judgment of the opinions they have renounced. It is not, then, because we have any wish to bind down our children to our own views, that we would have them taught in their early years what we believe to be the true doctrines of Christianity. It is because, in the first place, we would endeavour by such instruction to prepare them for becoming intelligent and candid Unitarians, should they spend their lives in connection with the Unitarian denomination, and because, in the second

place, we would seek in this way to prepare them for examining carefully and candidly the arguments which may be alleged in support of any system of doctrines that may be presented to their notice, and would have them so trained, that, if they shall ever renounce Unitarianism, they may do it understandingly, with a full knowledge of the doctrines they renounce, and of their reasons for renouncing them, — of the doctrines they embrace, and of the reasons why they embrace them. And we should expect, as the result of such a course of Sunday school instruction, that our young people, whether they should adhere to Unitarianism or renounce it, would always be found intelligent, candid, and liberal members of the denomination with which they might at any time be connected.

But there are those who doubt the propriety of giving distinct and definite instruction upon the doctrines of Christianity in our Sunday schools, on the ground that it is an infringement of the child's right to form his own opinion unbiased by the prejudices of early education, when in after-life he may examine the subject for himself. "We," say they, "have formed our own opinions for ourselves. Our children ought to enjoy the same privilege. We have no right to take advantage of our age and superiority, nor yet of our parental relation, to impose upon them our opinions, which with us are the result of examination and conviction, but which with them must necessarily be the mere prejudices of education." But it may be asked, if it be possible to train up our children, either in the family or in the Sunday school, in such a manner that they shall be entirely free from prejudice upon this subject. Children are not, by any means, entirely indebted to direct instruction for the prejudices they imbibe. Many early prejudices are derived from incidental influences. The simple circumstance, that we, as parents, Sunday school teachers, or members of the community, embrace one class of opinions rather than another, or worship with one denomination rather than with another, will prejudice our children, if they have any respect for our characters, in favor of the doctrines or the denomination to which we have given our adherence. But their opinions, so called, will be mere prejudices, resting only on their respect for the characters and practices of those who are older than themselves. If they go out into the world nominally Unitarians, it will be only because their fathers, or the community in which they were ed-

ucated, have been so, and not because they understand and approve the doctrines of Unitarian Christianity. To prevent this, if possible, we would have them instructed, before they leave the Sunday school, distinctly and systematically in the doctrines of Christianity, that so their previous prejudices may become well-settled convictions, resting upon their own clear understanding of the arguments and reasons adduced in their support. If, then, it is impossible so to train our children that they shall be entirely free from prejudices upon this subject of Christian doctrines, is it not the part of wisdom and of love to give them prejudices which are in favor of what we regard as the truth, while, at the same time, we impart to them such instruction as will enable them to substantiate their prejudices, if they are true, or to detect whatever of error there may be in them, if they are erroneous ?

Again, it may be asked if those who are restrained from giving doctrinal instruction by the doubt we are noticing are consistent in the course which they themselves pursue. Are they as careful not to prejudice their children upon other subjects ? Are they not often doing all in their power to give their children right ideas and right principles upon the general subject of moral conduct ? Do they not, in order to accomplish this, give line upon line, precept upon precept ? But why is this ? These right ideas and right principles, valuable as they are and important as they may be to future character, are in the minds of their children only prejudices of early education. Why not leave children to examine these subjects for themselves in after life, unbiased by the influences of early training ? Will it be said that correct moral conduct is a matter of such vast and immediate importance, as to authorize the attempt to prejudice the rising generation in its favor ? But is it not equally important to give them right prejudices and proper instructions in regard to those great central truths which lie at the foundation of all right feelings and principles, and constitute the only sure basis of a pure, elevated, and enduring morality ? Will not consistency require, then, of those who are influenced by the doubt we have noticed, that they neglect entirely all direct instruction upon the whole subject of religious principle and moral conduct ?

Still further, it may be asked, whether it is not the duty of the older portion of the community to do all in their power to prejudice the rising generation (if we choose to use that term)

in favor of what is right and true? Those who have charge of the young, as parents, teachers, or guardians, are to "train them up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord," "in the way in which they should go." And what is implied in this early training? In what does it consist? Does it not impose upon those of whom it is required to train up the young the duty of imparting to them true ideas, of cherishing right feelings, and establishing right principles, in their hearts, and of forming them to correct habits of conduct? Can any one conscientiously perform this duty, and yet neglect to give instruction in regard to those doctrines of Christianity which he sincerely believes to be true, which he honestly regards as of great importance, and which seem to him to lie at the foundation of all true morality? And must this be called prejudicing childhood? And may not the same be said of all education? Must it not necessarily be the case, that great and important truths, upon any subject, which in our minds are the result of conviction based upon arguments and reasons, must become in the mind of the child to whom we impart them more or less the prejudices of education? And must they not for many years, at least, remain so? Is it not for this very reason that the young are committed, in so much weakness, to the hands of those older than themselves, that mentally and morally, as well as physically, they may walk, for a time, in the strength and guidance of those in whose hands they are placed? Our answer, then, to the fear sometimes entertained, that by giving doctrinal instruction in Sunday schools we shall prejudice the young and prevent the possibility of their afterwards examining the subject unbiased for themselves, is, that it is impossible not to prejudice them in some way, and therefore it is important to give them prejudices in favor of what we deem the right and the true; that, if we would act in all things consistently with this fear, we should neglect giving any direct instruction whatever upon the subject of moral conduct; and that, if we choose to call this prejudicing the young, yet it is precisely what parents are, by their very relation, required to do.

We have thus far dwelt upon the importance of giving clear and distinct doctrinal instruction to the young. "But why," it may be asked, "should this instruction be given systematically, — why given in Sunday schools?" To these questions we will, in closing, give brief answers. Instruction upon any subject, which is given systematically, — the sim-

plest elements first, and those truths and principles dependent upon them afterwards, — will be given clearly and thoroughly; and, consequently, it can be more easily comprehended, and much longer retained, than would otherwise be the case, by the pupil. Then, too, there is a tendency in most minds, at some stage of their religious progress, to arrange and systematize their ideas upon religious subjects, that so they may be more free from confusion and more ready for use. There is, then, a propriety, if we would give instruction upon the doctrines of religion, in doing it systematically; and if so, the Sunday school would seem to be the place in which it should be given. It has seemed to us, at times, that there is some confusion in the minds of the community in regard to the particular sphere which Sunday school instruction should occupy, in its relation to family and parental instruction. Teachers are often exhorted to watch their opportunities to give various and incidental instruction, as the circumstances and occasions of life may call for it. This they cannot do, because they are with their pupils only one or two hours in a week. But this is precisely the kind of moral and religious instruction which may and should be given by parents and in families. At the same time, it is difficult, in the ordinary circumstances of most families, to give systematic instruction. This should be done at the Sunday school. The meeting of teacher and pupils is an appointed meeting, for which preparation is supposed to be made on both sides. And it is expected that the attention of the class will be directed to the subject upon which preparation has been made, and incidental topics find no place there, excepting in their relation to the regular subject of the exercise. If this division of labor could be fully understood, if parents would give their children incidental religious instruction, as it might be called for or rendered appropriate by their circumstances or their conduct, while the Sunday school teacher is giving systematic instruction upon the facts and truths, the principles and doctrines, of the Gospel, then might we hope that the religious training of our children would be thorough and efficient.

J. W—n.

ART. III. — UNITARIANISM IN PORTLAND. — MR. CARY'S LETTER ON THE TRINITY.

To the Editors of the Christian Examiner.

Sirs, — In examining a package of letters of some forty years' standing, presented to me the other day by a friend, I was much gratified to find a long and interesting communication from the Rev. Samuel Cary, formerly colleague with the Rev. Dr. Freeman at the Stone Chapel in Boston. Thinking the letter may give to your readers as much pleasure as it has given to me, I transmit it to you, with the one which called it forth, and such introductory observations as seem to be necessary by way of preface.

Mr. Cary graduated in 1804, and very early came into notice as an acceptable and promising preacher. He supplied Mr. Lowell's pulpit during his absence in 1807. In 1808 he preached for Dr. West and Dr. Freeman in Boston, and his services were eagerly sought for by several other societies. Among these was the First Parish in Portland, to which he was invited to preach as a candidate for settlement in connection with their venerable pastor, Dr. Deane. It was after one of the visits which he made to Portland that he wrote the letter of which I furnish you a copy, in reply to certain questions and doubts submitted to him by Mr. Freeman, a most worthy member of the society and for many years a deacon of the church.

This society was then in an inactive, I might rather say, in a transition state, moving gradually through a change which was then going on in the religious community of New England. In many of the old societies, the rigid Trinitarian creed was giving way; it had lost its hold upon the understanding and affections of the people. Still it was retained in form, because the mind slowly and reluctantly relinquishes its early-rooted sentiments and prejudices, and because no satisfactory substitute was then offered to the seekers after a more rational faith. Dr. Deane, who had been settled over the parish more than forty years, was what was sometimes called an Arminian and sometimes a moderate Calvinist; and although not openly avowing Liberal sentiments, still in private rejected the doctrine of the Trinity and the Calvinistic interpretation of the Atonement. His mind was travelling

through the same process which a portion of the religious community was pursuing.

A number of persons in the town, as early as 1792, had taken a stand upon the extreme position of Unitarianism advocated by Priestley and Lindsey, whose tracts and other writings in connection with the correspondence of Dr. Freeman first introduced that doctrine to this section of the country. The leader in this movement was Thomas Oxnard, a man of literary taste and scholarship. Although bred a merchant, he became a reader in the Episcopal church in this town; but having adopted the system of Priestley, he abandoned the Athanasian creed, and openly preached this form of Unitarianism. Ordination was refused him on this ground, when he sought priest's orders; and a majority of his people being dissatisfied with the change, his connection with the church was dissolved, and he continued to preach to a few hearers in a school-house. But the public mind was not ready for the new system, especially the Socinian or Humanitarian phase of it; and at his death, in 1799, the society fell to pieces, the individuals mingled with other communions, and all trace of it as a distinct organization was lost.

The First Parish, in 1807, had been established eighty years, and had been the parent stock from which had sprung five other societies, of various shades of belief, Episcopal and Congregational. During this time, although only two pastors had been settled over it, yet it had never been without one, and for thirty-one years it enjoyed both together.* Under these peculiar circumstances, it had become drowsy, and there was danger that it would fall entirely asleep, unless it could by some means get an infusion of new life. The most ready means which offered for this purpose was to procure a young man of talents to be united as colleague with their ancient and time-honored pastor. Invitations were

* In this connection, forty years later, I may add the still more extraordinary fact, that the society, from its foundation in 1727, a hundred and twenty years ago, has had but *three* pastors, during thirty-four years of which time two were together; never been a day without one; and the third, Dr. Nichols, is now in the full maturity of his ripe and rich powers, giving hope and promise of making this striking and unusual fact of permanency in the ministry still more extraordinary. The first pastor, Rev. Thomas Smith, was settled in 1727, and died in 1795, aged 95. Rev. Dr. Deane, settled as his colleague in 1764, died in 1814, aged 81. Rev. Dr. Nichols, settled as his colleague in 1809, is still living. They were all graduates of Harvard College, where Dr. Deane and Dr. Nichols were also tutors.

therefore given to the most prominent young men then coming forward in the ministry, of various religious opinions, to preach as candidates. Among these were Mr. McKean, afterwards Professor at Cambridge, Mr. Huntington, subsequently settled at the Old South in Boston, Mr. Thacher, afterwards of the New South, Mr. Miltimore of Newbury, Mr. Cary, Mr. Codman of Dorchester, Mr. Ely, lately of Philadelphia, and, lastly, the present pastor, Dr. Nichols. Some of these, having other engagements, declined being considered as candidates; and it is believed that on only one, previously to Mr. Nichols, did the parish go so far as to take a vote in regard to a settlement, and that was upon Mr. Codman. This gentleman had just returned from Europe; his manner was glowing and ardent, his style florid, his faith of the popular creed, and he had many friends in the town. Dr. Deane, too, who felt the infirmities of age, was sensitive on the subject and anxious for relief, as will be seen by the following letter to one of the committee for supplying the pulpit: —

"Portland, 28th Sept., 1808.

"Dear Sir, — I rejoice that you are returned. I visited your office to-day, but you were gone. Mr. Codman has told me that he is under necessity to go home next week. I dread to be left alone, for I am not equal to preaching twice in one day. Mr. Codman is greatly admired by many. He is orthodox and ingenious, and I think he is very generally admired. I wish we may be directed to do what is best."

The question being thus pressed to an immediate decision, and under such sanction, resulted in a vote by the church of six to two in favor of Mr. Codman, in which the parish nonconcurred by a vote of sixty-two to three, and this chiefly on the ground of his religious opinions. The parish had never before been placed in a situation where its sectarian tendency had been put to the test; it was now too clearly expressed to be mistaken.

This distinct avowal was probably hastened by the zeal with which Mr. Payson, who had been ordained as colleague with Mr. Kellogg over the Second Parish the preceding December, advocated the doctrines of Calvin. His settlement introduced a new era in the religious history of the town. Mr. Kellogg had been placed as the first pastor, nearly a quarter of a century before, over the Second Parish, composed principally of seceders from the First Parish; ardent

and eccentric, he had a great popularity at the commencement of his ministry, which gradually declined, and left his society in no better condition than that from which it had separated. Liberal and catholic in his feelings, although decidedly Trinitarian, he had ever maintained relations of friendly intercourse and harmony with the parent society. Perceiving the declension of both numbers and religious interest in his flock, and probably suspecting the cause, his practised mind discovered in Mr. Payson those high qualities which would breathe new life into his congregation, and he spared no efforts to secure his coöperation. His visions were more than realized. A congregation and church were collected such as never met before or since in Maine. But Mr. Kellogg was not permitted to enjoy the triumph; for after having, with the fondness of a father and the ardor of an apostle, prepared the field, the younger and more aspiring prophet excluded the ancient seer wholly from the rewards and enjoyments of the harvest. The same pulpit and the same parish were not large enough for both; and in four years the connection was dissolved, the elder giving place to the younger. They have both gone to their account.

Mr. Payson, immediately on his settlement, struck out a new path. He appealed ardently to the sensibilities and passions of his hearers; he aroused their fears by exhibiting in glowing colors the appalling terrors of the future, to which the deep, sepulchral tones of his voice were peculiarly suited and gave new horror. He drew around him the ardent and excitable, those who were deeply imbued with a religious spirit, as well as those who had no settled opinions on the subject, but who were attracted by the surpassing eloquence and impassioned manner of the gifted preacher. The effect of his preaching resembled what we are told of Whitefield's more than that of any other since his day, and in the same sense he may be justly called a New Light. But Whitefield had by no means the exclusive spirit of modern Orthodoxy. Mr. Payson, seeing every thing in the color of his own views, and believing that truth existed only in the form in which he embraced it, assumed that all who did not adopt his creed were in gross error and religious darkness. He therefore drew the broad line of separation between his own and all other modes of belief; and when Mr. Nichols was, in 1809, presented to the association of Congregational ministers, which then embraced the whole county, for approval as the col-

league of Dr. Deane, Mr. Payson stood alone in withholding from him ecclesiastical approbation on the ground of his religious sentiments, denied to him Christian fellowship, and would never admit him to his pulpit, although it was earnestly desired by the people of the First Parish and by many of his own.

This uncompromising sectarianism, stiffened into a rigid and exclusive system, widened the breach between the two societies and the two religious parties, and brought those who were inclined to Liberal views, although not before clearly defined in their own understandings, to a prompt avowal of the anti-Calvinistic scheme, and an open vindication of their principles. The excitement produced by this controversy kept the town in agitation for many years, dividing families and producing unhappy alienations. Since Mr. Payson's death, in 1827, there has been a gradual amelioration of feeling. The opposing parties, which on the first separation flew off to opposite extremes, have been drawing nearer together in Christian sympathy, and approaching a common ground of truth. The various benevolent and moral efforts in which they have heartily united have revealed to them that they have a common nature, a common Father who is over all, and one end and destiny which they are all striving to attain. Less reliance seems now to be placed on subtile and metaphysical distinctions than formerly, and more on those fundamental principles and truths on which all who sincerely love God and his Son may find room enough to stand together in hearty brotherhood.

The correspondence between Deacon Freeman and Mr. Cary, which gives occasion to this article, took place about midway between the settlement of Mr. Payson and the ordination of Mr. Nichols, and at a time when the public mind was awaking to the themes on which it touches. It has an important historical connection, and, no doubt, exhibits a state of opinion which existed in many of the old societies in New England at that day. None of them, it is believed, except King's Chapel in Boston, had openly avowed Unitarian sentiments; but that such sentiments were entertained to a considerable extent, as in the First Parish in Portland, subsequent events have clearly established. It is equally true, that they existed, unconsciously to their possessors, in many minds which could not assent to the doctrines of Calvin and Hopkins. The controversy, which commenced in 1815 with the

republication by the Orthodox party in Boston of portions of Mr. Belsham's Life of Lindsey, under the title of "American Unitarianism," placed before the community the distinctive features of the two grand religious theories which now divide the public mind in New England. It was then that the parties arranged themselves, as by an elective affinity, under their appropriate standards, and the separation between the Orthodox and Unitarian communities became entire and complete.

Mr. Freeman, whose letter called forth Mr. Cary's reply, was a man of unexceptionable character. He had filled most important offices, and largely influenced public opinion in this community. He was a member of the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts, and its secretary at the commencement of the Revolution, register and judge of probate, clerk of the courts, postmaster, and principal selectman, for many years; almost his whole life was spent in office: and he had a heart full of charity and benevolence, blended with a high capacity for business. He took a warm interest in the religious prosperity of the town, and originated or engaged in all objects of philanthropy and public good. Notwithstanding the expression of belief in his letter, he never joined the Orthodox communion, nor did he fully adopt their sentiments, but remained to the end of his life a firm friend of the First Parish, and of its pastor, Mr. Nichols, and deacon of the church, steadily but fruitlessly endeavouring to reconcile the belligerent parties and their differing faiths. He died in 1831, at the age of eighty-eight, a good man and devoted Christian.

Mr. Cary, in his letter, freely and candidly defines his position, and that of Unitarians in this country; and I cannot but deem it a valuable contribution to the history of Unitarianism among us. He was not destined to behold the full establishment of the doctrines he ardently cherished and so clearly advocated, for his untimely death in 1815, at the early age of twenty-six, was contemporaneous with the commencement of the open controversy on this side of the Atlantic. I now proceed to give the correspondence, without further remark. W. W.

MR. FREEMAN'S LETTER.

Aug. 18, 1808.

DEAR SIR, — The frankness which you discovered, when

you were in this town, together with the intimation you made to me, that a letter on the subject I barely mentioned to you on leaving would be favorably received, induce me candidly to communicate in this way some ideas which are in my mind, and which I think it proper, under existing circumstances, that you should be acquainted with.

In the first place, I consider, from what you said to me, and what I have heard from others, that it is not your present opinion that our Saviour was coexistent from eternity with the Father;—that he was not, on the contrary, as the Socinians believe, a mere man; but (as I conceive to be the Arian doctrine) that he was created before all worlds, the first and noblest of all beings;—that you were, however, open to conviction, and, on weighing the argument on the subject, would form an independent judgment for yourself.

Secondly, as to my own opinion, which is this:—That Christ, while upon earth, had two natures or characters, a Divine and human; that he possessed the former from eternity, and therein is equal to the Father, and that in the latter, connected, however, in a mysterious union with the other, he made an atonement for the sins of men. I observed to you that I thought but few of our parish believed in the Trinity. I formed my opinion, in some measure, from what was just before observed to me by Dr. Deane in regard thereto. But whatever may be the opinion of others, I cannot but think there is authority from Scripture to justify the belief. I have since conversed with Dr. Deane upon this subject, and find that he thinks that the Holy Ghost is God, but that he is not a third person in the Godhead. This sentiment is to me inexplicable.

Your opinion of the doctrine of the Atonement, Dr. Deane informs me, agrees with his. This sentiment I did not expect from him, for I had conceived that it was the general opinion of divines that it would not be considered to have been sufficient but under the idea that Christ was a divine or uncreated being, and that, without being immortal himself, he could not confer immortality on others. . . . . .

Your discourses here appeared to me to relate chiefly to the doctrine of obedience; and I deem it proper to say, that I recollect nothing in any of them but what accorded with my own sentiments.

MR. CARY'S REPLY.

Exeter, August 25, 1808.

DEAR SIR, — I have received your letter of the 18th, which was delayed a few days by being missent to Salem. I am much obliged to you for it; because it gives me an opportunity of explaining to you the present state of my theological opinions, and in the same unreserved manner in which you have disclosed your own. I wish to hold no sentiments on any subject whatever that cannot be defended; and if I believe the arguments to be on my side, it is my duty, as it is the duty of every honest man, to make a fair, explicit avowal of such sentiments, and of the reasoning by which they are proved. We ought not to be ashamed of our opinions, because it is in fact being ashamed of at least what we conceive to be *some part* of the Gospel of Jesus Christ. And I think there would be no motive for concealing them, even on the score of prudence, if we could only learn to give disputed points no more consequence than they really deserve. To me they seem hardly worth contending about, — certainly not worth contending about passionately, — because I cannot believe that a man who is known to be in the habit of fearing God and keeping his commandments, who has satisfied his understanding that Jesus Christ is a messenger from God, and that the Bible contains the message which God has sent us, and is the only rule of faith and practice, and does strive to conform himself to the example of his Saviour, — that such a man will finally forfeit salvation merely because he does not believe exactly as Calvin did, or Athanasius, or Hopkins.

Now, if this indeed is true, — if good men of all sects of Christians will meet together in heaven, — how is it possible to avoid the inference, that the peculiar distinguishing tenets of these sects are equally unimportant, that is, equally unnecessary to salvation? If we could all be prevailed upon to admit this principle, and to act accordingly, it would no longer be necessary to disavow or disguise what we believe on the subject of the Trinity, or of Original Sin, or of Necessity, or of any other speculative topic, any more than it is necessary to conceal what we think about the measures of government, or the theory of gravitation, or any thing else which belongs confessedly to evidence and to reason.

The doctrine of the Trinity seems to have been defended and disputed with more zeal and acrimony than any other

questionable subject ; and why it should have been so I am unable to conceive, unless there really is a propensity in human nature to search most eagerly, and decide most peremptorily, on subjects which are absolutely above the reach of our understandings. For my own part, I cannot reflect upon the theories of men about the nature of the incomprehensible God, and the confidence with which they talk of his essence and substance, and the parts of which he is composed, and the mode in which his Son proceeded from him or was generated or created, without being astonished at human boldness and arrogance. My dear Sir, is it possible for such beings as we are, who cannot tell for our lives how a blade of grass grows, or what is the nature of our own body or soul, to form any sort of conception of *the nature* of the First Cause of all things, who is invisible, and whom no man ever can see and live ? And if we cannot comprehend his nature, can any thing be more preposterous than to draw up theories in human language, the object of which is to explain this unintelligible subject, and to believe them of importance enough to be made articles of faith, and to be received as fundamental and essential doctrines in a revelation from the Deity ?

We know that God exists, and we know what are his moral attributes. We know that he has made us, has given us laws, and requires that we should obey. We know that his Son Jesus Christ, a glorious being, was sent to mankind to disclose to them the will of his Father ; that he is our Master, the way and the truth and life. We know, further, that there is a Divine influence, operating in some way or other upon the heart ; this influence is termed the Holy Ghost, or Spirit, or the Comforter ; that it will assist our efforts to become pure and holy, and will do that for us which we cannot do for ourselves. All this is perfectly intelligible. And why is it so ? Because all this intimately concerns us. It is necessary that we should know it, that we may act understandingly, — that we may perform our part and complete our task. But when we attempt to go further, and undertake to settle the precise *nature* of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, to explain the substance of each, or the mode of their existence, it is no wonder that we should be lost among insuperable difficulties, for we then meddle with things which are too wonderful for us. We then undertake to lay down as truths what God has not revealed to man, —

at least, what my Bible has not revealed to me. And why has not God revealed them? For this plain reason, because the human understanding, constituted as it now is, cannot comprehend them.

You say in your letter, Sir, that you "believe that there is ground in the Scriptures to justify the doctrine of the Trinity." Perhaps we do not both affix precisely the same ideas to this term. The doctrine of the Trinity I take to be this. *Trinity*, you know, Sir, is a word of human coining, composed of two Latin words, *tres*, three, and *unus*, one, or *tres in uno*, three in one. The Trinitarian, therefore, believes that there is one Supreme Being or God, but that this Being is composed of three distinct parts or persons, each of which possesses the properties of a distinct person, each of which has attributes that the others have not, each of which is truly and properly God, equal to the others in power and glory, and equally to be adored; but that, for all this, there are not three Gods, but one God. This is the Athanasian theory as explained in the creed. The only real Trinitarians are they who believe the Athanasian creed. I have been disposed to think that you did not believe this creed. Dr. Deane, I know, treats it with the utmost contempt. We must, however, as you justly observe, think for ourselves; and I am perfectly ready to own to you that it seems to me pure, genuine, unmixed nonsense. Before I can admit it, I must give up my reason, my common sense, all the powers of comprehending truth with which God has blessed me; a sacrifice which I have never yet considered myself bound to make. If there are in the Godhead three distinct persons, having three distinct volitions, and equal to each other in power and glory, then it as certainly follows that there are three distinct Gods, as any one proposition in nature can certainly follow from another. And there are no possible means, that I can conceive of, of getting rid of this inference.

St. Athanasius, indeed, has pronounced that there are not three Gods, but one God; and because he was a saint (for I know no other right he could have had of dictating), his followers are required to say so, too. But if St. Athanasius had taken it into his head to say, that three men walking in the street together were not three men, but one man, we must have had a more than ordinary share of credulity not to say at once that the saint was beside himself. Now, to my understanding, these two propositions rest on the same footing.

I treat this hypothesis with some freedom, because it is one of those speculative subjects alluded to in the introduction to this letter, which I take to be absolutely of human invention, absolutely unimportant in itself, and which must stand or fall as it is supported or otherwise by reason and the Scriptures. Supported by reason it certainly is not; and it has always been a subject of astonishment to me, how the world could for so many ages have believed it taught in the Bible. Without stating the arguments which have induced me to reject it (for I cannot do this in a letter already too long), I can only say, generally, that I believe it contradictory to, and contradicted by, both particular texts and the very nature and spirit of the whole volume of inspiration.

Perhaps there may be a little ambiguity in your expression, "justified by the Scriptures." It is among the standing jests of infidels, that the followers of Jesus Christ are split into a thousand opposite sects, each of which declares that its opinions are justified by the Scriptures; as if the Bible could possibly countenance sentiments intrinsically opposed to each other. But the truth is, these clashing opinions are not justified by the Scriptures. They may be justified, perhaps, by a few particular passages, dexterously culled from various parts of the Bible, and construed so as seemingly to favor them; but the sacred writings, considered as a whole, are uniform and consistent, and speak by one language. And I have long since laid it down as a maxim, that the general current of Scripture never can be in favor of any proposition which human reason, uncontrolled and unprejudiced, pronounces impossible. I admit, that if the Deity should reveal to us a mystery, even though it should be perfectly incomprehensible and perfectly contradictory to all our notions, and require us to believe it, we must believe it; but I contend, also, that such a mysterious truth must be revealed to us in such plain, clear, incontrovertible terms, that no man living to whom it is communicated can have the smallest doubt that it is indeed revealed. I suspect that the mysteries, or at least most of them, which are supposed to belong to the Christian religion, are in fact the offspring of abstruse, obscure, metaphysical systems of divinity, rather than of the Bible. The religion of Jesus Christ, as taught in his own sermons and conversations with his followers, seems to me perfectly plain and inexpressibly beautiful; and in these I find nothing of the Orthodox doctrine of the Trinity, as its advocates term it.

The term Unitarian comprehends a great number of sects, — indeed, all that variety which denies the equality of the Son with the Father and the personality of the Holy Spirit. The Arian, the Sabellian, the advocate of the Indwelling Scheme, the Socinian, etc., are all, as I conceive, Unitarians. Some admit the preëxistence of our Saviour, but dispute his divinity, properly so called. Some believe the Father and Son one and the same being, but do not believe that the Spirit is a distinct being, having the attributes of a person. Some deny both the divinity and preëxistence of the Saviour. But neither of them are Trinitarians.

I have satisfied myself, Sir, that the doctrine of the perfect unity of the Supreme Being lies at the foundation of all true religion. I think it may be demonstrated, as far as any moral proposition can be demonstrated. I believe only in one God. I acknowledge only one God. I pay divine honors only to one. Having settled this principle in my mind, I feel entitled to demand the most unquestionable proof that Jesus Christ, — who is represented throughout the Bible as the Son of God, who never in any one instance confesses himself to be the Supreme Being, but only the Messiah, the prophet that was to come, the messenger from heaven, the door and the way and the guide to heaven, — that he is in fact the very God to whom he would lead me, or has equal claims to his honor, to his character, and his place. It must be proved, also, beyond all dispute, that the Divine influence, or Spirit, of which I know nothing more than that it exists, is in deed and in truth another distinct person, who has a right to be worshipped also as God. Until this is proved, — and I have never yet read any arguments which do it to my satisfaction, — I must retain my present opinion, that there is but one self-existent Being in the universe, and that all other beings are the creatures of his hand. The only thing which gives importance to the doctrine of the Divinity of the Saviour is its practical influence on our worship. If he is Divine, then he is the true God, and must be worshipped as God; if he is not God, such worship is blasphemy.

I am sensible that this letter is unfinished. But I have made it much too long. I wished to have said more on the subject of our Saviour, and to have given you my ideas of Atonement and other points. You will have the goodness to excuse the very great freedom, and perhaps too great, with

which I have written; and remember me to Dr. Deane, whose remark I often think of, and am consoled with, that "the Deity will not punish us in another world for not having understood in this what cannot be understood."

I am, dear Sir,

Respectfully, your obed't serv't,

S. Cary.

S. Freeman, Esq.

Art. IV.—TREATMENT OF SLAVERY AT THE NORTH.*

Here was an honest man burning his life out by ardent indignation against the wrongs of the slave. The book leaves rather a sad and disagreeable impression on the mind. We sympathize with its noble enthusiasm for justice, but are too cold-blooded to enjoy the impatience and peevishness wrung from that soul of fire by the disappointments of its enthusiasm. Mr. Rogers, as is often the case with the passionately upright, was also excessively and morbidly downright. Evils which God and man have borne with for centuries he could not tolerate, no, not for an hour; and when he struggled manfully to remove them,—which was well, —but could not succeed at once, he showed himself as good a hater of his opposers as Dr. Johnson could have desired,— and this we think was not well, in spite of "the great English moralist." But far be it from us to join with the enemies of the cause he had at heart in drawing any inference against that cause from his imperfections. On the contrary, we charge upon slavery the wreck of this gifted and generous man's native gentleness and cheerful affectionateness to all the human family. His happiness was one more victim among the holocausts of that omnivorous Moloch. The Rev. John Pierpont, in a biographical preface, has delineated with touching affection the many excellences of his friend, passing with a light hand over his faults, and abundantly illustrating his singularly unselfish heart through all the ravages of lifelong disease and varied misfortune upon his

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* *A Collection from the Newspaper Writings of Nathaniel Peabody Rogers.* Concord: J. R. French. 1847. 12mo. pp. 380.

temper. We have seldom read biography written in so sweet and mellowed a spirit. Rough and thorny experience in the same unpopular cause, which too often exacerbated the subject of the memoir, seems to have had a softening and maturing effect upon the judgment and temperament of its writer. The rest of the volume consists of selections from Mr. Rogers's editorial and other contributions to the newspaper press. They are written with a sharp and fiery pen, moving at almost the speed of a magnetic telegraph. "As a newspaper writer," his biographer thinks him "unequalled by any living man"; and a glance at a page detects the strength, clearness, and quickness of his intellect, his ready humor, original fancy, and rich suggestiveness. He was an *extempore* man in all he did, with pen, tongue, hands, or feet; disdaining consistency, and therefore changing his opinions often rashly and precipitately, as we think, and making fatal mistakes. On religion he rushed into all extremes. The first article in this collection rates the "Christian Examiner" for being destitute of vital religion; but before we reach the end of the book, he has almost come to the conclusion that love to God is hatred to man. But his religion went as one of his many precious sacrifices before what he deemed the proslavery spirit of the community and the communion in which he lived. The Church had proved recreant to the cause of humanity, he thought, and therefore he hesitated not, but renounced it and all its works, and thenceforth seemed to consider it his chief mission to vituperate church and state, and all who upheld them. His talent for invective was not exceeded in the Antislavery ranks, and that is saying something; but we believe his purity of motive was equally preëminent. Few of those who professed opposition to slavery were acknowledged by him as coming up to the mark. The great mass of us lay weltering, according to his judgment, in the defilements and abominations of proslavery hard-heartedness. It would be well to let the admonitions of his spirited volume stimulate all who read it to the inquiry, how we really stand in that matter.

While we differ from Mr. Rogers in regard to many of his conclusions, and the temper with which they are pressed, we would say as earnestly as he, — If not antislavery, let us at least not be proslavery. This is the lowest position that should satisfy the conscience of Northern Christians. If the North has nothing to do with the South about the

matter, hands off; but let our hands never be raised in defence of the institution that is peculiarly Southern. A most interesting question for us therefore is, What is it to be proslavery? Who is proslavery? The epithet is affixed with wanton facility by some where we should least expect to find it applied. It is almost amusing to see the undiscriminating readiness with which it is thrown about. Some of the best lovers of liberty, and some who have made sacrifices to it for which their maligners have had no opportunity, to say no more, have been so branded. One would suppose it was the perverse and impolitic object, to make out as few friends of freedom as possible, and thus to repel and discourage them. It is proslavery here, and proslavery there, and proslavery everywhere; reminding us somewhat of the man described by an uncomplimentary title, who scattereth firebrands, arrows, and death in sport. Or it reminds us, rather, of the facility with which any decent citizen became "*suspect*" under the reign of terror in France, when to be "suspect" was sure guilt and death. So now, if a cautious man is not entirely prepared for the dissolution of the Union, he is "suspect" of all proslavery abominations. If a clergyman is not heard to broach the subject in the pulpit on some day when the accuser happens to drop into the church, he is set down as proslavery. He may have uttered other and more expensive protests, he may have preached on the subject the Sunday before or the forenoon of that same day; but that goes for nothing, if he is not all the time dropping line upon line and precept upon precept touching one and the same sin. We know of one clergyman who preached about it every Sunday for a month, and before it was mentioned in any other Unitarian pulpit of this city; and he was published as an apologizer for slavery. More recently we read a letter in an antislavery paper from one of these sharp-scented hunters after proslavery guilt, who had attended *once* at an Orthodox church, because he had heard that the distinguished pastor had announced himself an Abolitionist, and he wished to test the truth of the report. On the strength of this one attendance, when some other topic in the vast and varied field of Christian duty had come up, he wrote the letter to assure the antislavery public that the rumor was a mistake, and that this eminent laborer in every form of philanthropy was undeserving of his fame, because neither through prayer, hymn, nor sermon did the word slave or slavery occur.

We object to this, among other reasons, because it is itself (if we may be allowed for once to join the *suspectful*) of proslavery tendency. It is adapted "to aid and comfort the enemy." The design may be unexceptionable, and for this reason we have been reluctant to say a word against the well-meaning laborers in a righteous cause who have to toil against opposers quite numerous and strong enough already. Far be it from us to join in the contemporary, and only contemporary, clamor against these men. The clamorers may be Stentors, but they are not Calchases. They are not endowed with the gift of prophecy. They live for the day and read newspapers, unaware that history is of to-morrow, and unlike to-day's newspaper in its tone, — that to-morrow will reconsider to-day's short-sighted judgments, and wonder indignantly at the doings of many who now wonder at themselves admiringly. Honor to the voices that are raised for the oppressed, though they are not always very musical voices! Honor to all who, with whatever mistakes, remember the forgotten and attend to the neglected!

But even for the sake of the cause they have so close at heart it is most important to inquire more discriminatingly than they are apt to, who are really the proslavery men? What is it that constitutes a proslavery man? A man may be proslavery in one aspect, who is not so in another. His actions may seem so, while his design is not; as his design may be so, while the effect of his actions accidentally is not. It is only he who wishes to be so that should be stigmatized by the epithet. The motive is the man. We are "justified by faith." He who "esteemeth any thing to be unclean, to him it is unclean." This disregard of motives, this confounding in indiscriminate reprobation all who happen, whether they intend it or not, and whether they know it or not, to uphold some injustice, is too much like that tearing up of the wheat with the tares so censured by our Master.

The most ultra abolitionists should not object to this distinction, when they consider, that, if the effect rather than the intention of our actions is to incur the brand of proslavery, they themselves incur it sometimes. How often are they told that by their extravagance they are riveting the fetters of the slave! And though this is not true generally, for hundreds have obtained freedom since the abolition movement for one who did before, yet it is undeniable that in particular cases slavery has been made a heavier burden

through this excitement. Ever and anon, a slave, striving to roll off the stone that rested on his race, — to apply here the beautiful metaphor of Mrs. Butler's sonnet to Pius the Ninth, — has had it fall back on him and crush him. Is therefore Mr. Garrison a proslavery man, because his powerful appeals have made that slave's heart burn within him at the view of his bruised and bleeding brothers? Is Henry C. Wright proslavery? Is Stephen Foster a bigoted foe to abolition? And yet, if they went South, and were allowed to live long enough to hear it, they might be told, as we have been, that such persons were the main stay and chief hope of the advocates for the perpetuity of slavery. They would be hung, — there is little doubt of that, — but it would be for what they *wished* to do. Their wishes, then, make them antislavery. And is not a wish as essential on the one side as on the other?

Again, the use of the products of slave labor appears to some persons a proslavery act. Its effect is to enrich and encourage the slave-driver. It braids the field-whip. It sounds the daybreak horn. It prolongs the task till the sun is low. It brings crowds to the auction-block, on which the slave stands to be felt and handled like a brute, and show his teeth and tongue, and sometimes to strip himself for closer investigation of his capabilities. If there was no market for the fruits of his enforced toils, instead of being chained and driven in a "drove" to that block, he would be marched to the emigrant ship, or to the registration-office for record of his emancipation. And yet some who, as they think, go farthest for abolition, do not deem it worth while to abstain from slave productions. The inconvenience would be great, and the effect small, they think, and the pecuniary cost of such a rule of abstinence would cramp their means for more expedient antislavery measures. Therefore we do not stigmatize them as a "brotherhood of thieves." They may stir their tea to the saccharine satisfaction of the sweetest tooth among them, and no one moves a resolution that "the body of abolitionists, like the body of the clergy, with a few honorable exceptions, are robbers, murderers, adulterers, pirates," etc., and, by way of softening amendment, adds the words, "or something worse." So, too, every act of kindness or respect to slaveholders is pronounced proslavery in its influence. Every common civility, every expression of tolerance, every neglect of an op-

portunity to injure them, does something to strengthen their hands. It may be that some abolitionists can enter a disclaimer against any omission of duty here. Their consciences may reproach them with no superfluous respect or civilities to the "man-stealer." They are clear in their great account, and have infringed no rule of churlishness, have violated no obligation of discourtesy, have broken no pledge of general uncharitableness, in all fitting times and places. But we have been singularly unfortunate in our acquaintance with this body, if this is a fair description of their general or average hostility to Chesterfield. They cannot claim so entire and exemplary a faithfulness to the conscientious principle of antislavery rudeness in every case. Only a few ascend the heights of the crowning grace of this universal anti-Christian, as well as antislavery, boorishness. Those that we have known — we must confess it — exhibited the weaknesses of humanity. They were rather remarkable for a full share of the frailties and infirmities of temper and disposition that constitute the spirit exemplified and commended in an old book, and sometimes called the spirit of the lamb and of the dove. And we challenge the ultraist, who may pride himself on having most strenuously evinced the grace of perseverance in duty, to prove that he has been entirely consistent in this matter. If he have ever let a day pass without seeking opportunity for the cold shoulder and the cut direct, and all such delicate little attentions, he may say, with the Emperor Titus, "I have lost a day." Nay, if he have refused to injure the oppressor of his brethren when he could conveniently and safely, he has been false to the good soldier's first principle of doing all the injury to the enemy in his power. Excite insurrections on the plantation, reduce the slaveholder's means and strength in any way, and you cut the sinews of oppression.

Instead of this, we find our best abolitionists inconsiderately joining palms with men of whom they have no assurance that their palms have not been soiled with the wages of unrighteousness; unlike O'Connell, who refused the hand of a slaveholder, and always inquired if an American was from the Northern or Southern States, before he would be introduced to him, and rejected with disdain the application of Mr. Somebody from Alabama for admission into the House of Commons, because he could not pass muster with the thoroughgoing Liberator on the delicate point. It seems to us,

he might have let in the poor Alabamian, and been glad to have him go where his own liberating speeches were to be heard. But the difficulty was, it would have had an appearance of politeness ; and, being open to that objection, this wholehearted man would not listen to any suggestions of vanity. Our abolitionists are not so consistent. They are too good Christians to be thorough abolitionists. They have lived in New England, and attended schools and churches from childhood, where the New Testament was read. They are faint-hearted for insolence, and want pluck even for giving back to the Southron as good as he brings. They cannot do as much as our old college classmate, Dick C., used to do, when an ungenteel member of the class evinced a disposition to shake hands with him. Dick was *semper paratus*, always on the watch for this alarming operation. It would have been dreadful to be taken by surprise. Who knows what the consequences might have been, if a Southern aristocrat of the purest water, with hands innocent of toil, pure from any act of usefulness through life, had been surprised by any emergency into a junction of palms with some "unwashed artificer"? So Dick always had his gloves at hand, but reversed the ordinary use of those integuments. "Other people," said he, "pull off their gloves when they are going to shake hands. A great mistake. What should we think of pulling off our shoe or boot when we were going to give a kick; and a glove is only a *hand-shoe*. That is the German name for it." So, as soon as symptoms were observed of an approach to close quarters, Dick's hands were behind his back, and his right glove slipped on. Then he was "prepared for either fortune." He who would eschew exerting all proslavery influence should put on his hand-shoes, like Dick, when he must strike hands with the dealer in human flesh ; only he should put them on, not behind his back, but openly and ostentatiously. It will tell better. The insult will be more direct and pointed.

But, to be done with this trifling, is it not evident that we are all proslavery, more or less, if it be predicated of what we do, rather than of what it is our general purpose to do? And we are so, simply because opposition to slavery, important and imperative as it is, is not our only duty. We meet men in other relations and capacities than as the inflicters and countenancers of slavery, and must treat them according to the claims of all their relations and capacities.

We meet them as men. As men, they have claims upon us. For the same reasons precisely for which we oppose them as slaveholders, we must love them and serve them as men. Justice and humanity impel us to oppose their oppressions. Justice and humanity are what we complain of their withholding from the slave. And shall we not practise justice and humanity toward them? Let us render as much as we demand. Let us be proslavery enough to do justice to the guiltiest trampler on his brother, and to pity him even because he is guilty. If for insisting on this we are termed apologizers for slaveholders, our answer is, we wish to apologize for every kind of sinner as much as we can. Would that we could extenuate and find excuses for every crime, — not cover it up and connive at it, but really lessen the apparent criminality as much as possible! Shall we not rejoice to find our brother better than we feared he was? Will it not benefit our souls to see the world as full of virtue as may be? Shall we not thank God that "there is a soul of goodness even in things evil"?

But most carefully should we stop short at the requisitions of justice and humanity, and never go a step beyond them toward approbation of wrong. It may require nice discrimination, sometimes, to trace the line of difference. Our safeguard will be in asking ourselves ever and anon, — Do we heartily wish slavery to cease? Do we smile upon the slaveholder chiefly to forward this end? While we are just and kind to him, is it, more than any thing else, to make him just and kind to others?

To be just and kind to him, we must discriminate between the different kinds of slaveholders. There are, in the first place, those who are sagacious and clear-headed enough to know that they are doing wrong, and yet do it. Custom and prejudice and early associations blind many to the injustice of the institution, but a few are sharp-sighted enough to see through these mists, and condemn and despise themselves. Yet it is less painful to be self-condemned and self-despised than to relax their grasp on lucre. We find such men South and North. We have known them sell their own children, and brothers and sisters. If they could grow rich by it, they might be induced to contemplate selling their own father's only son. "All is property which the law makes property," they say, "and they are not bound to be wiser or better than the law." So their sons and brothers to the

coffle for new lands and more burning skies, ever more and more southward, as poor Mexico falls before the marauder, and their daughters and sisters to the brothel for their fathers' and brothers' unholy gains. "The law allows it, and therefore it is right." This class is often from the North. What shall we say of such men?

> "La lor cieca vita è tanto bassa,
> Misericordia e Giustizia gli sdegna,
> Non ragioniam di lor', ma guarda e passa."

But all are not such ghouls and hyenas, tearing flesh and lapping blood. This class is small, compared with others who love and uphold slavery from somewhat more respectable motives than sheer avarice. In fact, avarice is not the Southern vice. They who do not make their own money do not attach so much importance to it, as they who have to work for themselves from lack of others to work for them. These last know what it costs, by aching backs and wearied limbs. To the others it seems to come naturally and easily, like the air or water, choice blessings, but too cheap to seem precious, — unless it may be to the Irish laborers who lay aqueduct pipes all day in the hot sun, and through the stifling summer nights gasp and pant in their close, unventilated cellars and alleys. They know what water and air are worth; and so the hard-working Northern man knows how sweet are the wages of toil. But the indolent Southron, in general, enjoys the institution of slavery chiefly for the sense of personal consequence which it flatters. It gives power. It establishes an order of nobility. It draws even a broader line than between noble and serf, when they are of the same color. There are many more points of distinction than existed between Norman conqueror and Saxon vassal, more, even, than between Spanish hidalgo and Mexican Indian. In the strong citadels of the institution, where it is intensified to the exclusion of all labor that is not done by black hands, a white man, *quoad* white, is a kind of nobleman, if we may not say demigod. Sweet it is to be looked up to by all on whom his eyes can rest. Sweet is power, whether adored for its favors, or tremblingly dreaded for its tyrannies. Pleasant to an amiable man are the patriarchal relation and affections, and, ridiculed as the word has been, we have seen it justified in certain exceptional cases. Doubtless these feelings are the stronghold of slavery with many who have been convinced by sun-bright statistical facts, and

such unquestionable calculations as two and two making four, that free labor is the most profitable. They do not dispute this, but this is not enough. We of the North misapprehend many points of the case, from the greater estimate we put on thrift, and on the energy and foresight, prudence, general intelligence, and skill that insure the prosperity and wealth of New England. We suppose, that, to abolish slavery, we have only to ask Kentucky to cast a look across the Ohio river. "See what freedom does. See the general diffusion of comfort and newspapers. The people are all thriving and intelligent." "That is just what we don't want," answers the slaveholder; "we wish to enjoy luxury and education as social distinctions. If the greasy rabble are as good as I am, and perhaps think themselves a little better, that is no land for a gentleman to live in." This was just the substance of the answer made by a native of "the Ancient Dominion," whom we encountered in a steamboat leaving Wheeling for Cincinnati, to which he had removed from Virginia. We were disposed to felicitate him on his exchange of a slave for a free State as his residence, and began by asking him how he got along without slaves. "Ah, Sir," said he, "that is the sore point in my destiny. Circumstances have made it expedient for me to live in Ohio, and it is a State possessed of many advantages; but it has no slaves! and I love slavery! I am doing well, far better than at home; but I do love slavery! In Virginia I was a planter; in Ohio I am nobody. I have just been visiting the old pleasant land, to be refreshed by the sight of the slaves, and feel like a gentleman for a while once more. Boy," (and he seemed to enjoy the opportunity of calling a man of sixty a boy, for at the South a dark skin is the elixir of perpetual youth,) "boy, pick up my handkerchief."

These are rather more sentimental reasons for upholding "the patriarchal institution" than is the lust of money; but they prevail among the patrician families, and these, being the most enlightened, see, or ought to see, the unrighteousness of what they do. In every other case they can discern most perspicaciously between *meum* and *tuum*. They assent admiringly to the beauty of the sentiment, as they sit in their lordly cathedrals and hear their prelates — "fishers of men," and as earnestly owners of them — preach that they should do to others as they would have others do to them. But the pride and prejudice of the cavalier bar his way to

simple justice. It will be very difficult to break through the stronghold in which he is intrenched; but it is very certain that menace and reviling will not do it. The most likely mode of succeeding will be to convince him that we can be gentlemen without being slave-owners; and Billingsgate vituperation is the last means for convincing him of this.

We have supposed these two classes to know that they are doing wrong. But a long and intimate knowledge of the South satisfies us that most of the population are troubled with no such idea. They are born into a system of iniquity. It seems the natural and only state of things; for they have always seen it so. The happy associations of childhood, the love of their mothers and fathers, the pleasantness of their genial climate, the native hilarity of the African temperament, the general cheerfulness of the sunny South, all weave gladdening accompaniments around slavery, that hide its ugliness; like the luxuriant garlands of their forests, that throng up naturally, clustering round some rough and gnarled oak, till the decaying and unsightly trunk is lost to view, and seems a column of bright flowers.

What is wanted by this class is light. Ah! sadly do they want it. But how to get it to them? How shall they be taught to analyze an institution, so as to separate its loathsome essence from its fascinating concomitants, — an institution which, it has been truly said, is never in the abstract, but which they have from their birth seen intimately interwoven with all their social arrangements? How shall they discriminate between the absolute injustice, and the virtues of many who perpetuate it? How can they see unrighteousness through so much of the noblest righteousness, as we know, if we know any thing, characterizes many slaveholders in all relations but one? Here is the great confusing snarl that needs to be disentangled. We have been puzzling ourselves with the inquiry, whether a slaveholder can be a Christian; as if a man could not be a Christian in one part of his conscience, while another part is dark and sleepy as the hemisphere of earth or moon that is turned away from the sun. We know no better Christians, speaking generally, than some individuals who hold their brethren in bondage, daring as may be the avowal at the present day in this latitude. But is that saying they are Christians in every respect? Far be it from us to indorse their whole character and conduct, or those of any one else. A dreadful blot is on them. God only

knows whether it penetrates to the heart. Those who believe in Christian perfectionism may reject this account. And yet perfect holiness need not involve infallibility of judgment. Unfortunately, at the South the doctrine of evangelical regeneration in the most absolute sense prevails, and the common idea is, that one who has been born of the Holy Ghost, whether he *can* do wrong or not, *will* not at any rate do so heinous a wrong as slaveholding is represented to be by Northern New-School Calvinists and Unitarians. If all that ultraists say of slavery be true, then slaveholding and Christianity cannot be united for a moment. Therefore their account of it is rejected at the South, for slaveholders are seen there who are universally regarded as Christians. They have felt the finger of God upon their hearts, and know whereof they affirm; and their neighbours believe them. Their first birth would be as soon questioned as their second. The inference is immediate, that what such good men do cannot be that monstrous mountain of malignity abolitionists talk of; and therefore abolitionists must be wrong, and Southern Christians must be right. So much for the violence of the crusade against the South. So much for judging men's hearts, and insisting that they must be rank with all corruption, because there has been an error in their lives.

And yet we hold to the truth of John Wesley's account of slavery, that it is "the sum of all iniquities"; but not necessarily iniquities of heart. The fact is, all such words are used in a double sense. They are applied to acts, and to motives. Slavery may be the sum of all iniquities in its effects, while its supporters think nothing about it. Have we not seen and read of many other sins united with undeniable virtues, from want of moral light? Immodesty with us makes a woman wholly reprobate; but is it so in the Polynesian islands? Slaveholding in Boston would betray a low moral state indeed; for our pure atmosphere pours light around most departments of conscience, and a spot is detected at once. But where the air is dark, the sight is dim. How was it with the Thugs of India? A multitudinous religious sect, faithfully practising many virtues within their body, and as faithfully robbing and murdering all they could out of it, — were they all self-condemned in this; — the little child whose first lessons were to do so conscientiously, and the old man who had grown gray in the

steady discharge of the perverse duty? Were there no amiable Thugs? As well say there have been no amiable and conscientious warriors. We like not war nor any of its works; but we know what has been the prevailing delusion of the world about the military profession, and have seen, that, where it is respected, its members are respectable in proportion, though their trade is cruelty; and *vice versâ*. In Old England, where a commission in the army or navy is almost a title of nobility, such a writer as Wordsworth even, with his pure moral tone and lofty seraphic soarings, could, within this present century, select "the Christian warrior" to depict as a model and embodiment of the Gospel graces. In New England, on the contrary, where "fanaticism" has torn off many of its laurels from the bloody sword, we have seen two small regiments raised, and kidnapped, as it were, into Mexico, by virtue of great drumming, and drinking, and drubbing; and how many of Wordsworth's "Christian warriors" enlisted in that *élite* corps of the Puritan States? How much will Mexico be edified by these our Miles Standishes of the nineteenth century? They are not as respectable men as the venerated soldier of the Mayflower was, because their profession has fallen into disesteem here, under present circumstances; "fallen," O, might we say, "like Lucifer, never to rise again"!

And how slavery shall be made to fall into disesteem, is the question. It is obvious that the natural mode of meeting the argument of those who infer its lawfulness from the Christian character of some slaveholders is, to show them that we can be better Christians without it; and so much better, that Christianity with it, a slaveholding Christianity, is to a Christianity of universal justice and benevolence less than a parhelion to a sun.

To do this, we must evince the wisdom that is "pure and peaceable," as well as "full of mercy and good fruits." The law of kindness must be on our tongues as readily as in our hands. This is necessary, too, in order to satisfy another class of objectors, those who fear insurrection as the fruit of antislavery agitation. Happy it is, and seemingly like a special providence, that the prominent abolitionists should be all peace men by profession. Only it is a pity that peace men should be so full of fight, so pugnacious, on every chance of logomachy, with that little member which an apostle designated as "a fire, a world of iniquity, which

defileth the whole body, and setteth on fire the course of nature, and is set on fire of hell." Pity that non-resistants should ever substantiate their title to the name by neglecting to resist the angry promptings of their own tempers. Though it be only words they use, yet such loud words may naturally enough frighten the timid, and guilt is especially timid. They may talk loud, because they are earnest in meditating thoughts of love; but such obstreperous love-making does not suit weak nerves. They cannot persuade the South that their thoughts are turned on peace, when their boisterous voice seems still for war. The South feels like the keeper of a powder-magazine, when a keg or two of powder have burst open, and he is standing up to the ankles in it. It being dark, his affectionate neighbour runs to enlighten him out of the predicament with a blazing brand, which he waves to and fro fiercely to fan and spread the light. He of the magazine shrieks in terror, — "Avaunt, and for Heaven's sake shake not that brand with such rough energy here, lest sparks be scattered!" "O, make yourself perfectly easy!" cries he of the brand; "I come in love, and not to harm you. I do not intend to scatter sparks; I wave the torch only to throw light upon your steps, and extricate you from the powder before it explodes in spontaneous combustion." "As well kill a person," said some ancient Mrs. Partington, "as frighten him to death." Barking dogs, though they do not bite, are alarming to the sensitive, — exceedingly annoying, to say the least. Therefore let us not urge our love upon the slaveholder so as to terrify him and make him suspect we are expressing it rather to the slave under his foot, while we pretend it is meant for himself. Let us always address the white man, never his victim, on this subject, and avoid even the appearance of talking at the latter while we talk to the former. This may seem more insidious, and quite as alarming as the direct inculcation of "treason, stratagem, and spoils."

We should pursue a conciliatory course still more for the sake of another and the last class of Southrons we shall mention. These are the antislavery party of the South. For the North is mistaken in supposing the South all proslavery, as the South mistakes in supposing the North all antislavery. There is a small number of individuals there, — it cannot be called a party, for in most of our Barbary States they are obliged to keep as still as mice, and dare not peep, or mutter, or breathe to one another loud enough for any thing

like association or organization, or, indeed, to make themselves and their number known. They may be more numerous than any one thinks. They might run up to a pretty respectable minority in some of the States, if they ever dared to ask themselves for a categorical answer as to what they are in the matter. At any rate, the slaveholders know that the non-slaveholding voters in some States are the majority, and a majority suffering variously from the supremacy of the interests of the minority; and therefore they are very careful to hush up instantly every voice that begins to sound forth any thing but "Great is Diana of the Ephesians." For what if it should come out that there was a considerable party of solid voters so profane as to feel no great respect for Diana? What if a "real live" majority should be for laying sacrilegious hands on the said Diana, and toppling her divinityship from her pedestal? Chaos would have come again. There might be some hope of such a result, if there could be a beginning of a manifested tendency to it. One man allowed to preach emancipation would be an opening wedge, and many might follow him. But the difficulty is to begin. Who will first volunteer to bell the cat, and make profession of the obligation of honesty? Whoever does is summarily hustled out of the community, and he finds himself with his face to the north star, moving under as undesirable a necessity as marked the egress of one of our Commonwealth's ambassadors from Charleston, and the hegira of the other from New Orleans. The cat decidedly objects to being belled. What is to be done with such an unaccommodating humor? We must try and convince grimalkin that the design is not so incendiary as he thinks, but is a peaceful, sweet-tempered, amiable design, aiming at his benefit as much as any one's; and that, at any rate, all that is wanted is to shake tongues, not swords, and to shed ink, not blood, to explode prejudice, not gunpowder, and to hear reports of committees, not of cannon. Let all abolitionists protest this in a suitable tone of voice and expression of face and gesture and whole demeanour, so as to insure belief, and perhaps after a while the feline suspiciousness will be soothed, and vigilance be put at least into a cat-sleep; and if an extinguisher is still put upon the voice that peeps, and a stopper into the ear that listens, it may be done loosely, so that some sounds will creep through, and after a while extinguisher and stopper fall off. Then we may perhaps see the beginning of the end.

It is all-important to secure the safety and influence of this little band in the lion's den; for if emancipation ever takes place, it must begin through them. They are on the spot, they know the ground and its capabilities, they are always watching the enemy's strategy and tactics; they must always be the van of the march, the fore-front of the battle, yea, the edge of the chisel, the lip of the gouge, the first tooth of the saw, the bearing-point of the antislavery auger. Generous sympathy and admiration for this little forlorn hope in its exposure should be enough to commend to us the course needful to secure their safety, even if it did not exactly coincide, as it does, with the course needful to enlarge their influence and invigorate their efficiency. This is the course of pacific inoffensiveness as far as may be consistent with our object, striving to remove prejudice against us from the minds of our opponents, and conciliate their tolerance to us, as the very first and indispensable preliminary to the most remote hope of their sympathy in any time to come. We should take warning from the resolutions the free negroes in Southern cities have sometimes felt obliged to pass, protesting against the violent action of their Northern friends.

The field being thus clear for labor, the next question is, What shall be its form and instrumentality? Two modes, and various instruments under each, offer themselves to us, — antislavery action, in which we may be able to do little, and abstinence from proslavery action, by which we may effect a great deal, and more than we think, in a way to which no one can object.

First, we can exert some small positively antislavery influence. We meet with Southern men in interesting relations. We go to them. They come to us. We sustain the mutual and double relation expressed so pointedly by a single word in Greek and Latin, — though modern tongues want it, — ξένος, *Hospes*. By all this going to and fro knowledge should be increased. When the heart is warmed with generous hospitality, we may drop a word as large as a grain of mustard-seed and as soft as thistle-down, which may take root and grow, although the subject is generally a *tabooed* one. There are some reasonable beings from the South. Warburton used to say, that "when man was defined as a reasoning animal, it only meant that he was an animal capable of reason, though even that was rather a matter of tradition than of experience." But we can testify that we have

encountered soft-spoken men from the land of chivalric Hotspurs, who were willing to exercise the distinguishing human faculty. Not all assume that the earth was made for them alone. Not all assert their right by nature to the best rooms in the hotel and the highest seats at the feast, and draw dirks on remonstrating waiters putting in a plea for the ladies. Not all invariably speak of "the Yankees" with an emphatic monosyllabic epithet prefixed to that nasal euphonism. Only we must be most guardedly polite, if we would win their ear rather than their fist. Perhaps it would be better to drop the English language for the nonce, and speak the *Slaveholderese*. Conform to their ideas as much as we can. Stoop to conquer. Give them many of their postulates, and yet we can beat them at the argument. Many an *ad hominem* thrust will do the business. The temptation is very great to combativeness, no doubt. Some of the things that they will say will be almost irresistibly provocative to a little sharp jocosity at least; but it can be choked down. We remember coming upon a Southern gentleman, a few years ago, as he was coolly fixing up, in the most crowded part of State Street (the said State Street being the principal thoroughfare of Boston, which is in Massachusetts, and the principal city of New England), an advertisement for his runaway slave; who, being brought by him to the Tremont House, chose to avail herself of a privilege which the constitution and laws allowed her; that is, to take a walk without asking any one's permission. The Southron seemed to feel that he was doing rather a laudable act in affixing to a Bostonian's house that advertisement, inviting and calling upon all good citizens of the free North to violate law for his pleasure, and kidnap and enslave a free woman, — free now by the law of man as well as by the less important law of God. He assumed at once that he had our sympathy and approbation. "You must all assist," said he; "this is a matter in which you are all interested." We did not answer, — "Yes, we are all interested in doing justly and loving mercy; we are all interested in obeying the command of justice and of God, — 'Thou shalt not deliver unto his master the servant that is escaped from his master unto thee: he shall dwell with thee, even among you, in that place which he shall choose in one of thy gates, where it liketh him best: thou shalt not oppress him.'" We did not answer in any such words, difficult as it was to deny ourselves the pleasure. We had grace to keep our lips

sealed; and therefore we conclude it may be given to man to be good-natured even facing a slaveholder near Faneuil Hall.

As for the plan of putting all in Coventry who dwell south of Mason and Dixon's line, we may do that when we put in Coventry all the sinners who dwell north of it. No, no; we should be a little afraid ourselves of the operation of this Coventry plan. We have no wish to see the community converted into a monastery of La Trappe, only not permitted so much as to cross the arms over the breast and say to one another, — "*Rappelez vous, mon frère, qu'il faut mourir.*" We wish to remind our slaveholding brother that he is to die, and we wish the admonition to be taken kindly, that it may have effect, and therefore we will not keep him in Coventry all day till the hour comes to explode a lecture upon him. If he be an unmitigated villain in his slaveholding, as some are, using that instrumentality for vices and meannesses not countenanced by the standard of slaveholding morality, then into Coventry with him quickly, and his brethren will assist to put him there; as we do here to a Northern man who abuses too outrageously any power the law confers on him. But if a man here keep within the law and within the license of public sentiment, though they both allow many unchristian practices, and he indulges in them, it is idle to talk of *Coventrying* such a man. It cannot be done. A Christian might as well propose to Coventry an unfortunate Turk for having his full allowance of four legal wives, or a Turk a Christian for drinking wine at the Communion.

Proceeding in this spirit, we would say to our Southern brethren: — "We all have our misfortunes, and our faults. We are sensible that we of the North have our share, and we will thank you to alleviate for us the former and point out the latter. It is what we wish to do for you in the spirit of duty and meekness. You were born under a terrible burden. A portentously black and disastrous cloud hangs over you. We do not stigmatize you for that, as we do not expect you to reproach us for our frosty sky and rocky soil. But we offer to assist in drawing off the lightning from your cloud; and we would be glad if you could soften our climate and our rocks. We will force upon you no measures respecting your own affairs contrary to your wishes; but, as our affairs cannot but be affected by yours, — for we are one

people, — we entreat you, for the sake of all parties, suffer us to solicit your attention to evils you refuse to see. We know it must be because you cannot see the evils we allude to, that you tolerate their existence among you. Your sight is weak, and we cannot blame you for that. Custom has familiarized enormities till their atrocity makes no impression. We none of us see ourselves and the peculiarities of our lot as others see. Hear, then, the opinion held of your condition, not by us alone of these Northern States of our Union, but by the whole civilized world. Is not almost the whole Christianized globe bearing testimony against slavery, as an institution that has been long weighed in the balance and everywhere found wanting in good influences, physical or moral? We do not deny that it coexists among you with many interesting virtues, which it has not yet blighted. But travellers already say you are not what you were in former years. Even the accomplishments and light social graces which you used to attribute to this institution are vanishing from among you. The polished manners and elegant tastes of your fathers are passing to other parts of the country. The hospitality, the generosity, the gallant fearlessness, the frank openheartedness, the gay, careless spirits that have characterized the South, belong to other circumstances in your lot rather than to injustice and oppression. These must always, in some degree, weigh down the heart and conscience. If slavery created all your virtues, still it makes you pay too dear a price for all the good its most enthusiastic advocates ever have pretended it could possibly occasion.

"Southern friends, we love to dwell upon your excellences. Your romantic fervors kindle a generous glow in our cold Northern imaginations. Your self-forgetting, headlong chivalry we can admire, with all our prudence and cautiousness. These very virtues, characteristic of the generous South, convince us that your toleration of slavery must be from thoughtlessness and inattention. You do not examine it, you do not see it as it is. You have seen it too long for that. You have known it too long to know any thing about its essential character, as it appears to the eyes of the unprepossessed and impartial. You would be the last people in the world to establish such an institution, if it were now to be established for the first time. Believe that. Only ask yourselves if you would be the people to go and enslave another nation, all being free till then. Most of you would disdain

to do it now, familiar as is the idea. How many of you would not feel it to be morally wrong, as well as socially debasing, to ply the cruel arts of the Guinea trader? And an institution which it would be so horrible to establish can you with unbroken complacency maintain?

"You yourselves despise and abhor a hard and cruel slave-master; for we are not speaking to these inhuman exceptions from your general character, but to you who still deserve the name of men. You are shocked at what you term brutal atrocities against your dependents. These, being unusual, that is, exceeding the usual measure of severity to which you are accustomed, strike you as being cruelties. But the difference is only in degree. They are accordant and homogeneous parts of one system. The spirit is the same. Strangers unaccustomed to the lower degree of severity, that which you consider necessary and reasonable, shudder at it as you do at the higher and unnecessary, which you call wantonness and malignity in punishment. We have seen some of you, before you were well broken into it, decline the sight of the common whipping-post, and even the fields in which your negroes were laboring, leaving all the discipline of your plantations to your overseers and drivers. You could not bear to see blood flow, though a daily occurrence. If such tenderness were honorable, oh, how is it that you can quietly permit, can complacently know, that torments are endured by men and women which you cannot so much as bear to look upon? How can you sit and read so tranquilly some luxurious volume amidst couches, and cushions, and curtains, or preside serenely over your costly feasts, while you are doing by the hands of another a deed from which your own hands would fall powerless with disgust and loathing, if they attempted it? Is it not true, as well as legal, *Qui facit per alium facit per se?* Better do it with your own hands than leave these poor creatures, whom Providence has made dependent on you for protection, to the uncontrolled passions of irresponsible overseers, a proverbial set of petty, ignorant, and vulgar tyrants, in whom generally there is no mercy.

"You do not think much of these things, and therefore you repeat, from father to son, — 'The slaves are happy; no more comfortable peasantry in the world.' If you would but fix your eyes and hearts thoughtfully on a single point or two of the system, separating your own interest and preju-

dices from them by a momentary effort of mind, viewing them abstractly and as if for the first time in your life, the scales might drop from your eyes. Take, then, one phenomenon by itself, and, as you view it all around, steadfastly bear in mind what is the character Southern gentlemen assume to be their marked and peculiar glory. Look at a scene that occurs often enough, God knows, and say, What think you of gallant, chivalric men whipping women to make them work and support those lazy men in idleness? Viewed abstractly and apart from your own concern in it, would you not say immediately, under all the impulses of Southern gentlemen, that there could be no more ineffable meanness than this under the cope of heaven? Here is every element of the gallant cavalier violated. We unchivalric roundheads and rustics of the Puritan North could not sink to a less heroic achievement. You do not think, you do not know, what you are doing. How many more horrid features there may be in your institution, which you might see, if you tried hard to break the spell of custom and self-partiality!

"Suppose there were no cruelty in slavery, save as injustice is always cruelty; suppose there were no scourges, no stocks, no iron-collars, no guns and bloodhounds, not even fox-hounds turned into man-hounds, no public as well as private whipping-houses, termed often, in unfeeling mockery, 'sugar-houses,' passers by which can attest, that, at all hours,

> 'Hinc exaudiri gemitus, et sæva sonare
> Verbera: tum stridor ferri, tractæque catenæ';

yet can you, men of the nicest sense of honor as you are, who feel a stain like a wound, and would rather die, and put your dearest friend to death, than have your probity impeached, can you live long lives in peace of mind with injustice your constant stigma, with dishonesty staining every cent you receive or spend? Is it not unjust to make a good man another's chattel? Then is it not unjust to keep him so? Do not an innocent man's limbs belong to himself? Then how is it not dishonesty to take away from him the labor of his limbs; and common, ungenteel, vulgar dishonesty as any, the moment we look through the thin surface of a most shallow prejudice? Your slaves say they wish to be free. We never heard one say otherwise out of his master's hearing, in twenty years' intercourse with them. That is their strange preference; and that should be enough to decide you how to act. It may be a foolish choice in them.

They may be perverse, having had experience in the matter, in not believing the rhapsodies uttered on the advantages of being a crushed and brutified chattel by your well-paid fiction-mongers, who seem to think that slavery, as Diderot says of that other enrapturing theme, woman, should be written upon, 'dipping our pen in the hues of the rainbow, and using for dust the down of the butterfly's wing.' But their sufficient answer is, 'We don't like it.' And be assured, O Southern gentlemen, you would not like it either. With your tastes and indolence, you would be the last people on earth to like toiling in that burning sun of the reeking rice-swamp, under the cart-whip. Therefore you might feel for the congenial indolence and slumberous propensities of the children of Africa. By the constitution nature has given them, they hate work worse than any white man does.

"Southern friends, what will you lose by freedom? Not wealth; for slavery keeps you all in debt to the non-slaveholding North. Not polish and elegance, not generosity and magnanimity, not the graces and enjoyments that spring from the ascendency of the powerful over the weak; for you would still be a landed aristocracy, and would live under the same physical influences as now. All the chivalry and honor and frankness and fearless adventurousness and exuberance of spirits would remain. Would you be less agreeably situated as gentlemen, if you approached more nearly to what you now boast has a partial resemblance in your social arrangements, namely, the condition of the European landed aristocracy, — living surrounded by your tenants, looking up to you with a gratitude for freedom, and a deference for multiform superiority, such as are not felt by farmers abroad toward their landlords?

"Friends, this is no insidious proposal. There is not a man of you but we love. Some of us have been identified with you, and can feel for you as for our own flesh and blood. We who write this have sympathized with you in modes not always agreeable now to reflect upon, as we remember that fifty human beings were hung in a line for the winding up of a servile insurrection among you, which we were obliged to assist in suppressing. Yes; we rode patrol for you, night after night, through your streets and forests, — striking no blow, we are thankful, — but running down and incarcerating poor fugitives, whom we pitied from the bottom of our hearts. God forgive us, if we did wrong! but the terror of your women

and children was an appeal not be resisted. Never shall we forget the scenes we witnessed at the ringing of your alarm-bells. Therefore we can feel for you and appreciate all the difficulties of your position; but, in view of them all, we decide that justice is the path of safety. That insurrection was plotted in '22, or rather, it was discovered then; the plot commenced years before. This was before the abolition agitation. It is since then, and since the last considerable insurrection that has occurred, — that of Nat Turner, in Southampton, Virginia, — that we have begun to talk much of antislavery. Therefore the antislavery discussion here did not occasion those insurrections; but, if it has had any effect, has prevented such outbreaks, for there have been none of late years. And this is what might be expected from the peaceful principles it breathes, and the hope it gives the slave that it will not be necessary for him to strike with the arm of flesh, since others are taking thought for him with bloodless and more effective weapons. Why should you be afraid, then, to talk of doing justice? Why fear that justice will provoke the slave to massacre, instead of exciting his gratitude, when lifelong injustice has so seldom nerved him to revenge?

"Southrons, you are not apt to be afraid. You love the excitement of danger. You are pouring, with tumultuous delight, into the battle-fields of Mexico. One half of those who go there die, yet you shrink not. And will you be afraid of a few imaginary difficulties and dangers, all of which, put together and converted from shadows into realities, would not equal the fatigues and perils of one Buena Vista day? *Festina lente* in the matter, if you think that best, but begin to make some movement. Be willing to *think*, at least, when justice, and honor, and common honesty, and chivalric intrepidity call for it.

"We appeal to every consideration that should affect good and noble men, or wise and self-loving men. You are ruining the land you love; you are impoverishing its resources; you are putting a prohibition on enterprise, and thrift, and the dignity of labor; and, what is worse, on the purest conscientiousness and the peculiar virtues of the Christian, where they transcend the virtues of the worldly cavalier. How many good men you have driven out from you, by making conscientiousness in one duty a crime! They are afraid to stay, if they would be honest with themselves, and rise above

prejudice and interest. This class will increase now every year. There is no Edict of Nantz for them. If they would be faithful to conscience, they must become expatriated men. Was the revocation of that edict a wise measure for France, when it stripped her of so many valuable subjects, the *élite* of the Huguenot fearers of God, and drove them to settle on your shores? We plead for these exiles from the land of their birth. The banished child pines to return to his mother's breast. His fathers' sepulchres are among you. Those fathers bled to serve you and make you a free people. His mother sleeps under the sod of your valleys. She taught him, among her first lessons, to love his native land and make it a land of Christian righteousness. Let him come back to you with a clear conscience, that he may practise that lesson. Some of us who ventured to you from the North to preach Christ's Gospel you have driven away with indignity and outrage and a price upon our head, in violation of our civil rights, as well as the authority of God. We forgive all that; but we cannot so easily forgive your unfaithfulness to yourselves."

We do not see how we can refuse to say something like this, when we have the ear of our Southern friends favorable to us, and escape the charge of proslavery in both of the senses we have attributed to the word. We justified the sentiment so far as it meant *pro-slaveholder*, that is, love and kindness to him, as to all other men. But politeness is carried too far, if Chesterfield is set above Christ, and our being pro-slaveholder makes us anti-slave. We must never forget the slave, when conversing with his master. He is our perpetual client, and we should ever be watching for a chance to forward his cause prudently. A word dropped wisely in the *mollia tempora fandi* may be the seed of his freedom.

We hold that we are bound, too, to vote and legislate against this giant evil, to the utmost limit of our constitutional rights; and among those, we suppose, is even the right of changing the Constitution, if we find it desirable, and do it through constitutional forms. The stipulations of the national compact do not muzzle speech on any subject, nor prohibit self-defence, when the ever-growing encroachments of the slave power threaten our Northern rights and portend a slavocracy as the government of the Federal Union. A stiffer resistance than we have made would win respect, even at the South.

But, if we are allowed to do little by antislavery action, so much the more strenuously ought we to do all we can, by scorning to exert the smallest proslavery influence unnecessarily. It is unquestionably constitutional to keep the lips closed; and silence sometimes may be almost omnipotent. We read in the book of Revelation, that "there was silence in heaven about the space of half an hour"; and a half-hour's silence on earth at the fitting season would do something to bring it nearer to heaven. In this matter we are grievously faulty. Who, while travelling in the South, has not often witnessed an eagerness in New-Englanders to speak favorably of an institution about which they supposed their opinion would be considered doubtful or adverse? They volunteer their approbation. In coaches, and cars, and steamboats, if you see a man in ecstacy, be sure it is a Jonathan, delighted with his discovery that slavery is not the monster abolitionists have represented it. This is one of the mischiefs of their exaggerations. To hear some of their lecturers, one would receive the impression, that nothing was heard but lamentation, mourning, and woe over the wide savannas and cotton-fields of the South. On the contrary, the New-Englander finds it the land of gayety, compared with which his own has a sombre aspect. He sees slaves dancing in the streets to the music of the troops maintained expressly to keep them in subjection and march them to execution when uneasy. There are no such Momuses as the mindless children of Gallah and the Gold Coast. The moment punishment is over, their elastic spirits throw off the load of sadness, and they rise to joke about their stripes, perhaps while they wash out the brine that has been rubbed into their wounds to exacerbate the smart. Hearing this sonorous and incessant cachinnation, — not admitted into the privacies where discipline is administered, — feasted and flattered by the courtly masters, the New-England man thinks he has been imposed upon by the enemies of slavery. He does not allow for the peculiarity of the African temperament nor for the genial Southern clime, the very heat of which seems to exhilarate the black as much as it oppresses the white man. Then he hears that the slave is not required to accomplish as much labor as he himself exacts of his hired laborers at home, and he thinks they must have an easy life; not considering the difference of the stimulus that incites them, and that free hope will do with pleasure ten times the work

slave-fear does with hate and curses. Hence Northern slaveholders are the most dreaded by the slave. They bring the free hyperborean's energy and ideas of labor with them, and expect the same from the sluggish, hopeless toiler near the tropics, and they naturally become impatient and irritated by dulness and slowness so uncongenial with their own activity; and then comes punishment; and hard and heavy fall the blows from those energetic, well-developed, Northern flexors and extensors. And because the lazy negro hates work, so that he suffers about as much from it as from the scourging, and therefore bears much scourging rather than do much work, our Northern man, who never has received a blow in his life, and shudders at the thought, supposes the negro does not feel, — he must be deficient in sensibility. "His skin is thick," writes a venerable Doctor of Divinity from the North, and publishes it in a religious newspaper of Boston. "It is all a mistake to feel so much compassion for the slaves. They are whipped, it is true; but it does not hurt them much, their skins are so thick." We shall hear next, that it is rather an agreeable titillation of the epidermis, than otherwise. After this, we may believe the story Fraser tells, in his "Travels in Persia"; that, hearing screams every day from a neighbouring house, he inquired into the cause, and was told that a rich merchant, knowing that his wealth would excite the cupidity of the Pacha, was preparing himself to resist his extortions by hardening his soles to the bastinado, and had already accustomed himself to bear daily a thousand strokes of the bamboo comfortably enough; but more than that made him scream, and he was now upon his second thousand for the day, and begged to be excused for disturbing his neighbours. It may be that rich merchants prefer to undergo discipline into the second thousand, rather than bleed pecuniarily, and that negroes enjoy the excitement of their thick cuticles by a fustigation; but if the recollections of our school days are anywhere in the neighbourhood of the truth, we were obtuse to such enjoyments and preferences.

We should make allowance, too, when we go South, for the cheerful and exhilarating excitement of travel. This produces an illusion which most travellers experience, though few detect and understand it. We attribute our own lightheartedness to the people among whom we travel. We are gay, because we have got away from care and business, are

changing the air, seeing new scenes, eating with appetite, and sleeping healthily, to wake to another day of zest to-morrow. The mind throws out its own bright coloring around. Those we meet seem as happy as ourselves. We are surprised, if they tell us they are not. We go to Italy for recreation and its pleasant excitements of climate and landscape, antiquities and arts, and we get the idea that it is a very cheerful country, and people cannot be unhappy there. But Italy is full of poverty and vice, overrun with cripples and beggars, soldiers and monks, denied the heart's best joys. Thousands sleep in its streets, for want of a shelter from the cold of winter and the more pestilent dews of summer. Can enjoyment be universal in such a country? So we go southward, feeling like escaped prisoners, like dismissed school-children. We leave the grave cares and tempers and climate of New England to hybernate in the sunny South among its mercurial children. We leave the Pilgrim State shrouded in snow and overcanopied with clouds; a few days' steaming sets us down among roses and jessamines, the air balmy and perfumed, the inhabitants enjoying their evening reunions in their open piazzas, under the clear moonlight of that cloudless sky. We are immediately received among them with the cordiality and hospitality of the idle in all warm climes. A few months pass away in easy socialities; health bounds more vigorous through our frames; every thing is provided for us; there is no housekeeping, and marketing, and regulating of bakers and milkmen and dustmen; till we have cut out the heart of the winter: and then we return, in what we by courtesy here call spring, and are received by the east wind, with all its horrors, and a gray sky, and the anxieties of our vocation, which has fallen into arrears during our absence, and requires harder work to bring up leeway. And we think, "How pleasant it was at the South! Every thing seemed to smile there. The African ivory was a type of joy. Better be a slave there than a freeman here. They have no care, those slaves" (meaning, we had none while we lived among them); "every thing is provided for them" (meaning, that every thing was provided for us while there). "Their whipping, after all, they don't feel much" (meaning, we did not feel it). "How they seemed to enjoy waiting upon us!" (meaning, that we enjoyed it). O New-Englander, disentangle these associations! for every word you speak thus, you add a rivet to your brother's chain.

It is worse, when public men, the eminent and the learned, teachers and statesmen and professional men, wend their way South to teach slaveholding to slaveholders. We will not say it is carrying coals to Newcastle, for what they carry gives neither light to the mind nor warmth to the heart; but we might apply the corresponding proverb that was used by the ancients, and call it carrying owls to Athens. Alas, when Northern lawyers go to teach the claimants of man as property, that law can make any thing property, and the constitutions of men may supersede those of God and nature! Alas, when Northern physicians go to lecture to the tramplers on a race, that that race carries in its physical organization proofs of inferiority, and therefore destination to subjection! Thrice alas, when the Northern herald of the religion of brotherhood goes to preach to the already too tyrannical, that one brother may be an oppressor and another his crouching slave, one an owner and the other the thing owned! They preach this, perhaps, without wishing, without intending it, simply through want of the faculty of holding their tongues. Such doctrine is not required of them, any more than the opposite doctrine. They need say nothing about it. But the temptation is to say as much as they can with truth in favor of their hearers' prejudices, while they cannot say what would make against them; and a half-truth leaves the same wrong impression as an untruth. A Southern congregation will sit from New Year's day to Christmas, and demand of the Northern Christian no pandering to its errors; but, if it is told that Jesus never forbade slaveholding, it ought to be told, in the same connection, that he forbade injustice and inhumanity, and that the greater includes the less. Do clergymen open their lips to let out but half the truth from improper motives? Not always, by any means. Do they thus send off their hearers with the impression that wrong is right, because every specific form of wrong is not forbidden in the Bible, from time-serving mercenariness? Far be it from us to think so. The most amiable feelings may prompt to it, — good-natured courtesy, kindliness to their hearers, the dislike to wound any one's feelings, gratitude and affection to friends from whom they are ever receiving tokens of good-will. Therefore we do not judge them harshly, but only beseech that they will learn to wield the omnipotence of silence. "There is a time to keep silence, and a time to speak," said Solomon, the wise

king, and was never wiser in saying any thing else. A time for the former, of special power, is in conversation, when an answer is expected from us to some remark implying, however indirectly, approbation of slavery. Seriously and deeply have we seen the slaveholder impressed, when such a remark was followed by sudden and absolute silence in one whom he respected. No pointed rejoinder may be better understood than this, nor taken half so well. It is an inoffensive and powerful resource, continually coming into play.

For, we repeat, the Southern Church is not offended at quietism on this subject in the recruits to its ranks from the Northern schools of the prophets. It will, like even the worst men, respect consistency. When it sends to us for a candidate, it does not expect to find him a Southern man born at the North. Its native clergy seldom utter the remotest allusion to the questionable institution in their preaching. We do not remember hearing the word Slave in some two thousand sermons that offered us soothing edification throughout half a dozen different slave States. When it is necessary to refer to such a topic, some very circuitous and delicate periphrasis is substituted; but it is considered almost an indecorum not to ignore the whole matter as much as possible in the house of God. We do remember hearing most explicit charges and cautions addressed by Southern to Northern divines, against their unconsidered officiousness in tickling, as they supposed, the Southern ear. We have now distinctly in our mind an earnest remonstrance, urged, before a large party of laymen in Camden, South Carolina, by an experienced native divine, against the offer of a fresh clerical arrival to vindicate and eulogize slavery from the pulpit, as rich in blessings to all concerned in it. This new importation thought that even the foreign slave-trade might be commended as an instrument of Christian regeneration, a means of grace, rescuing the pagan from benighted Africa, and presenting to him the Christianity, enlightenment, and civilization, the intellectual, moral, and spiritual elevation of — a field-slave. The Carolinian could hardly restrain the Connecticut Doctor's enthusiasm. "It is true," said he, "we think a slaveholder may be a Christian in his heart; but yet let us not preach to panegyrize slavery. Our next neighbour is a drunkard, who seems otherwise to be a Christian in his heart. Will you preach to panegyrize drunkenness?"

It is these things that explain the sneers so common in the

South at Northern philanthropy. They throw a doubt over all its pretensions, as endowed with a wonderful cosmopolitan tact for accommodating itself to every latitude. The South idolizes manliness and independence. While it would hate and dread and respect sincere, self-sacrificing abolitionism, it thoroughly despises sycophancy. It scorns, more than every other, the New England parasite. From foreign despotisms and aristocracies it can receive proslavery accessions without wonder. When Prince Murat came to buy a plantation and work negroes in Florida, it seemed natural enough. When the present excellent Bishop of South Carolina asked him if he had no scruples about slavery, and he answered, that he did "not believe men had any abstract rights, the right of power was all," it seemed the appropriate sentiment from the son of a military king and usurper. But when the Bay State men, the Granite, the Green Mountain State republicans, who have stood upon the rock of Plymouth, and heard yearly eulogy on their Pilgrim fathers, come to bolster up a system of oppression which even the Barbary States on the Mediterranean are getting ashamed of, it does excite special wonder that these should be the kindred of the men who fought at Naseby and Marston Moor, and Lexington and Bunker's Hill.

Whether our preachers should settle over Southern churches, in the present condition of things, is a question on which there will long yet be difference of opinion. They can do so without adopting the prevailing opinions, if they will keep quiet on them, and preach against sin in general, and for holiness in general. After they have secured their foothold, they may let it be known with impunity that they are privately opposed to slavery, and perhaps exercise a faint influence against it, and a strong influence in ameliorating the condition of the slaves around them. But their position seems to countenance error, and they will be, in various ways, ill at ease, especially after their children begin to grow old enough to drink in the spirit of slavocracy.

Whether our clergy here should admit to their pulpits those who have bowed the knee to the Southern Baal, it is of little consequence how we determine, if it be explicitly understood that their admission is no indorsement of their errors. But if we should close the door to such, they would have no right to complain; for they have commenced the exclusive system themselves. All who are known to have spoken for the op-

pressed here are now shut out from the Southern pulpit. We can give the same reason for the exclusion that they can. If we have meddled with their institution, so have they with ours. Theirs is slavery ; ours is liberty for all.

Neither has any one a right to object, if we rather decline intimate relations with those between whom and us there is so pervading an uncongeniality on a momentous and absorbing subject. We would treat them kindly, whenever we can serve them ; but it would be a proslavery course, to prefer and select them for our companions. Our acquaintance must have limits, and we do no wrong to the multitude outside of its limits. The Irish population in the same cities with us take no offence at the broad line of separation between them and the natives ; and it will be more and more the case, that the champions of freedom and the advocates of slavery walk apart. Let neither party frown or feel slighted. They are equally remote from one another. What hundreds of men there are that we venerate, but never speak to ! Our tastes are different.

The great question remains, How much should clergymen here preach on the subject ? One who, in the present state of the question, gives all its aspects the go-by, as he does tyrannicide, and witchcraft, and crimes obsolete and impossible to us, will not escape the charge of proslavery. He must utter his testimony distinctly, and often enough to have it entirely understood on which side he stands. The more distinctly, the less often will be necessary ; and he must not reserve it as a bitter pill for the Fast-Day or Thanksgiving, when there will be no one to swallow it. We should not wish it presented to ourselves from the pulpit as frequently, by any means, as more solemn and devotional themes. The Sabbath was made for man, but chiefly for man to realize his relations to God. No general rule can be given, except it be this, — that such testimony is needed in proportion as it is resisted ; and in that same proportion is prudence needed in uttering it. Let it not be forced ; let it not vex the dull ears of drowsy men, a *crambe repetita usque ad nauseam*. Most fatal mistake, when the preacher assumes a pugnacious attitude to his hearers, and forgets that " the wrath of man never worketh the righteousness of God " ! Better assume that he has not a proslavery man before him ; that they are all anti-slavery, of course, in this latitude, — if they only understood themselves, — all of one mind already ; and that he introduces

the subject, not so much to effect conversions, as to "stir up their pure minds, by way of remembrance" of what they have long since believed.

If any one objects to a preacher's doing so much as this, he will, of course, take to himself the title of proslavery; and then we are not addressing him. We write to those who would know what is necessary to escape that title. That any one, North or South, should say that a teacher of the religion of Jesus does wrong in warning his young men — scores of whom are going South every winter — against the peculiar moral dangers into which they go, seems to us passing strange. It would be as reasonable to object to a Southern father's or guardian's reminding the generous youth under his charge, about to come this way, that among the Yankees are shrewd and enterprising speculators, given to paying attentions to the unwary, and the boys would better examine carefully the nutmegs they buy; or that there exists here a cruel prejudice against the dark-skinned races, and the young men must be on their guard and not imbibe a disposition to deride and insult, as well as enslave, the companions and playfellows of their childhood. Bitter as is slavery's draught, this intense contempt for the negro would make the bondman's burden unspeakably more intolerable. As the young New-Englander who goes to the South carries this ingrained prejudice with him, predisposing him in any way to trample on those he already shuns and despises, it is the more necessary to warn him against the temptations to unrighteousness it will so fearfully augment. But slavery is a concise, short-hand symbol for all immorality. Now, what father may not admonish his son against the various forms of immorality separately, by their respective names? What pastor, then, who is a spiritual father to the young of his flock, may not do the same? And if he may do it in many words, may he not in one? May he not use a comprehensive term, instead of spending his breath needlessly in wearisome diffuseness? Stenography is not forbidden to the pulpit; nor are precision and point often complained of in it. The young man warned will remember one word, where he would not a dozen; and a comprehensive expression for a comprehensive iniquity — yea, "the sum of all iniquities" (we thank Wesley for teaching us that word) — will have a force proportioned to its succinctness. No advice is needed but this: — "Avoid all practices connected with slavery."

We close, hoping that we leave this comprehensive advice emphatically impressed upon the reader. Yes, slavery is the fertile mother of abominations. But if it were nothing but loss of liberty, if it included no other cruelty, what slave has not shown a burning passion for liberty, as itself, at any price, the paramount blessing of life? This sentiment is the handwriting of God on every human heart. Dryden has truly said, —

> "O, give me liberty!
> For, were even a paradise itself my prison,
> Still I should long to leap the crystal walls."

M. I. M.

Art. V. — LIFE OF DR. BELKNAP.*

"The life of a modest man," said Miss Lucy Aikin, speaking of the memoir of a cherished friend, which she was anxiously expecting, "should be modestly written"; and could Dr. Belknap himself have designated his biographer, he could not have selected one who would more appropriately have performed the task. It is a graceful, unpretending tribute from filial hands to an honored ancestor. Its chief merit is the judicious arrangement of letters and documents, furnished, for the most part, from his own writings; and we welcome, after the interval of half a century which has elapsed since his death, these memorials of one who, as an historian and a man of letters, as a faithful clergyman and a wise philanthropist, was among the distinguished men of his times.

Dr. Belknap was born in Boston, June 4, 1744, and graduated at Harvard College in 1762. While preparing for the ministry, he engaged in the instruction of youth; and at Milton, where for two years he was master of the public school, at Portsmouth, New Hampshire, and in other places where he taught, he left lasting remembrances of himself as a skilful, affectionate, and successful teacher. "He was one" of those, says his biographer, "whom companions and

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* *Life of Jeremy Belknap, D. D., the Historian of New Hampshire; with Selections from his Correspondence and other Writings.* Collected and arranged by his Granddaughter. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1847. 18mo. pp. 254.

friends not only love, but reverence, at an early age." As a proof of the sincerity of his character and of his benevolent desire to serve those around him in any way in his power, she adduces part of a letter, written shortly after he was graduated, to a young friend at Cambridge who had requested his aid in composing a theme on the immortality of the soul. The theme was sent, but with it the following gentle monition : —

"Though I shall never be loth to serve you in the same manner, yet I cannot recommend it to you to pursue this method, but wish that you would endeavour to acquire a better talent at composition. It would be an unspeakable advantage to you. Do not let your genius lie uncultivated, and your abilities be any longer dormant, but only put them once into action, and they will continue to supply you with whatever you want in this way with the greatest ease. I speak experimentally." — p. 14.

His entrance on the ministry was not without painful scruples and distrust as to his spiritual qualifications. In a letter to his great-uncle, the well-known Mather Byles, he thus expresses his perplexities : —

"It is a fixed and settled opinion with me, that no person ought to take on him the office of a minister of the Gospel, unless he has experienced the renovating power of it on his own soul; but, unhappy me! I have never experienced this, and therefore I dare not preach, though I have been much urged to it." — p. 15.

We have seen nothing of Dr. Byles which has pleased us more, or given a more agreeable view of his character, than his reply to this letter, in which he seeks to relieve the difficulties of his young friend, and to encourage his entrance upon the profession of his choice.

"I am pleased," says he, "to see your regards to the work of the ministry. 'T is what you choose.' And why do you choose it? Perhaps answering this very question to yourself may relieve your anxious heart." — p. 17.

When at length these scruples were overcome, and he had relinquished a plan, which under their influence he had formed, of devoting himself to the instruction of the Indians, Mr. Belknap accepted the unanimous invitation of the people of Dover, New Hampshire, to become their pastor, and was ordained February 18, 1767.

In this place he labored, amidst great discouragements, for

more than nineteen years; fulfilling all the duties of a faithful minister, honorably known and frequently employed on occasions of public interest in other churches, and in various parts of the State; and at the same time, with the skilful industry which was always one of his characteristics, collecting materials for those valuable works which have given him so wide a reputation as an historian and biographer. Among his best friends and parishioners was Thomas W. Waldron, one of the most influential men in Dover. On the friendship and judgment of this gentleman he confidently relied; and, "being very modest in estimating his own powers," and willing to be guided by friendly counsel, he addressed to him a letter, at the commencement of his historical researches, which, when we consider his subsequent success in this department, cannot be read without the interest which, as has been remarked by another, "we naturally feel with regard to all the circumstances of a distinguished man's preparation for his future eminence."*

"SIR, — You cannot help having observed in me an inquisitive disposition in historical matters. I find it so strong and powerful, and withal so increasing with my opportunities for gratifying it, that it has become a question with me, whether I might not freely indulge it, with a view to the benefit of my fellow-men, as well as for my own improvement. As it is natural for us to inquire into the ancient state and circumstances of the place of our own abode, and to entertain a peculiar fondness for such inquiries in preference to more foreign matters, so I have applied myself, in some leisure hours (making it of late my principal amusement), to learn what I can from printed books and manuscripts, and the information of aged and intelligent persons, of the former state and affairs of this town and province.

"The knowledge I have yet obtained is at present very imperfect; but I find a disposition to pursue it with a view to the collecting some memoirs which may, in future time, after much reviewing and correcting by myself and others, be made public.

. . . . . .

"I desire you would speak freely; and if you think my age, or abilities, or circumstances as a minister, or opportunities for collecting fit materials, or any other matters, are objections against my undertaking it, I shall immediately give up all thoughts of making public any thing of the kind, and shall confine myself entirely to my own amusement.

"July 17th, 1772." pp. 47, 48.

* Thacher's Life of Buckminster.

But while Dr. Belknap was faithfully serving his people, he was kept in perpetual embarrassment by their unfaithfulness in the payment of his salary. His pursuits were interrupted and his spirit harassed by his domestic necessities; and, after long and patient endurance, he finally determined to leave Dover, his connection being dissolved in September, 1786. He was thus for a season "thrown upon the world with a family to support, and only his own powers of mind to depend upon for subsistence. He bore his trials with great fortitude. He did not speak harshly of those who had shown themselves so unworthy; very few of his friends were made acquainted with his difficulties; and even to his own children, then and in after years, he was always silent on the subject."

But his excellent gifts were not long to remain unemployed. On leaving Dover, he addressed a letter to President Willard of Harvard College, informing him that he was again a candidate for the ministry, and bespeaking his friendly influence. "I wish," he writes, "to be serviceable to the best interests of mankind, and to be still employed in the vineyard, if the Lord of it shall appoint me a place." And having preached for a few months in Exeter, Beverly, and other vacant parishes, some of which would gladly have appropriated his services, he accepted a cordial invitation from the church in Federal Street (then Long Lane), in Boston, which had just before relinquished the Presbyterian for the Congregational order, and was installed as their pastor on the 4th of April, 1787. To this new and pleasant field of duty he was welcomed by the cordial congratulations and hopes of his brethren and friends, who had sympathized in his previous trials, and well knew his large capacities for usefulness. Boston, as it was his native place, was also his appropriate sphere. Here he found both professional and literary associates, of whom were Minot, Clarke, Eliot, Kirkland, and Freeman, whose society supplied a want which he had sensibly experienced in Dover. Here he could devote himself, without painful anxiety, to his favorite pursuits; and from his deep interest in the education of youth, he was signally useful as a member of the School Committee of the town, and as an Overseer of the College. "He took much pains," says his granddaughter, "to procure the publication of suitable books for the young; and his services in their cause are remembered by some now living, who, as

children, were won by the kindness and attraction of his manner, and who speak of him with a warmth of feeling which nothing but a conviction of his sympathy and love for them could have preserved through the trials and changes of so many intervening years." Of his fidelity as a pastor, and of his personal excellence, we cannot adduce a clearer testimony than that borne by the Rev. Dr. Kirkland, in the sermon preached at his funeral.

"You are witnesses what is lost, no less in private conduct and example, than in public ministrations; how well his life became his doctrine, how the divine, moral, and social virtues appeared in him in the various scenes of life, in the hours of adversity, and in his intercourse with his people. You are witnesses how kind and inoffensive, yet how plain and sincere, was his demeanour, how useful was his conversation, how simple and unaffected were his manners. The sick are witnesses of his attention, his fidelity and tenderness in comforting the believing, in warning the sinner, and confirming the doubtful. The unreasonable and censorious are witnesses of his patience and indulgence; the unbelieving, of his desire to convince them; the afflicted and despondent, of the sweetness of his consolations and his gentle encouragement; the poor, of his ready advice and assistance, and, to the extent of his abilities, his alms; the rich, of his Christian independence, united with a becoming complaisance; and the profligate, of his grief for their depravity, of his utter disapprobation of their characters."

In no notices of Dr. Belknap may we omit his literary distinction, or some reference to the works on which it is founded. His History of New Hampshire, in three volumes, the first of which appeared in 1784, and his American Biography, which he lived not to complete, have long since given him a place among the eminent scholars and writers of our country. Nor does his reputation rest on these alone. Besides some occasional sermons,* creditable to his professional character, he published several essays and dissertations on a variety of topics, literary, political, and religious. His humane and philanthropic spirit disposed him to take a lively interest in whatever promised to benefit society or his race. Both for the suppression of the slave-trade and for the advancement of temperance he was earnestly engaged;

* Among these are an Election Sermon preached before the Legislature of New Hampshire, in 1784, and a Sermon before the Massachusetts Convention of Congregational Ministers, in 1796.

contributing his enlightened aid in every way in which he thought he might do service. To him belongs the honor of founding the Massachusetts Historical Society. The first plan of the institution was drawn by his hand; he identified himself with all its objects; carried on an extensive correspondence over the country, to enlist prominent individuals in its design; and wrote valuable articles, the results of his own investigations, for its volumes.*

The religious opinions of Dr. Belknap were in accordance with the moderation and catholicism of his whole spirit. They were formed at a period when much was supposed to be held in common by Christians of various names, and before the distinctions which have since been insisted on with more vehemence than charity had been made. From some remarks "in relation to the opinions of Dr. Watts," incorporated with the present volume, it might be inferred, that, on the subject of the Trinity, he approved of the views, essentially Unitarian, which were well known to have been entertained by that eminent divine before his death. "I do not apprehend," says he, "that it is incumbent on me to defend it [Watts's notion of the Trinity], nor am I sanguine in my opinion that it is the true one; though I confess, that, in the main, it appears to me at present to be nearer the truth than that commonly received as orthodox, which maintains three *real persons*, or distinct intelligent beings, in the Godhead." "As to Arians, properly so called," he afterwards remarks, "if I have any idea of their sentiments, they consider the *Logos* and the *Holy Spirit* as created beings; which I think, with Dr. Watts, is an error most manifestly repugnant to Scripture doctrine." On some disputed topics he seemed willing to adopt phraseology, as is seen particularly in his Collection of Psalms and Hymns, which would now be thought scarcely reconcilable with the general character of his faith. But Dr. Belknap had no taste for controversy; and, however much attached to his own, condemned no man for differing from him in opinion.

* Among his correspondents, both for the Historical Society and for aid in his History of New Hampshire, we find Governor Wentworth, for many years the upright and honored chief-magistrate of that State, and afterwards, removing to the British Provinces, rewarded for his loyalty by being made governor of Nova Scotia. The correspondence is honorable to both parties. Governor Wentworth had a high esteem for the talents, learning, and character of Dr. Belknap, and, in a very interesting letter, preserved in this memoir, urges him to take charge of the education of a favorite nephew.

"They," said he, "who have investigated subjects of doctrinal controversy with the greatest care and impartiality will be the most ready to confess that there are difficulties on all sides, where the Scripture has not explicitly decided; and will see the greatest reason for diffidence of themselves, and candor towards one another. These are two principal lessons which I have learned from the study of more than thirty years, and these I am principally solicitous to inculcate upon others. If this publication should in any degree contribute to answer this end, I shall be thankful, though it should expose me to the censures of some good men, to whose esteem I am by no means indifferent, though their charity is much more confined than my own; and whom, whatever they may think or say of me, I will love and honor." — p. 253.

At the time of Dr. Belknap's call to the church in Boston, "some person, who was apparently annoyed by the change in the church government, and by the liberal views of the chosen pastor, tried to persuade the brethren of the church that he was a Universalist and a follower of Murray; and to this end an anonymous letter was written to one of the deacons"; which, having been shown to Mr. Belknap, he immediately communicated the fact to the committee of the Society, and with a commendable frankness presented "a declaration of his own sentiments," from which we take a passage that will be read with interest at the present time.

"When the Chauncy controversy came abroad, which engaged every body's attention more or less, it was natural for me to incline to one side or the other. I was inclined to call in question the immortality of the wicked in a state of future punishment, though I had no doubt of the certainty of the punishment. There are difficulties attending the subject on every side in which it can be viewed; and after much thought upon the matter, I am inclined to this opinion, that the revelation which God has given us in the Scriptures is intended to regulate our present conduct in this world, and to give us to understand what will be the consequences, in the future state, of our good and bad behaviour here.

"I believe the resurrection of the just and the unjust; that the life which the just shall receive from Christ, at their resurrection, will be immortal; and that they shall never die any more; but doubt whether it can be proved from the Scriptures that the life which the wicked shall receive at their resurrection is immortal, — if it can, it will follow that their misery will never end; but am rather inclined to think that the life which they will then

receive will be a *mortal life*, that they will be subject to a series of misery and torment, which will terminate in a *second death.* Whether this second death is an utter extinction of being, or whether they will be delivered from it by another resurrection, are points which I cannot determine, nor do I think the Scriptures afford us full satisfaction on these subjects; so that I expect no full solution in this world, and am fully contented with believing that the surest way for us is to believe in Christ, to fear God, and work righteousness in obedience to the Gospel, and thus secure our own happiness without prying too curiously into the secret and future designs of God. The Apostles themselves declared, '*We* know but in part, and *we* prophesy but in part.' If the chosen and inspired ambassadors of Jesus Christ were imperfect in their knowledge, how can we expect perfection in this life?

"If, upon this declaration of my mind, you see fit to recommend to the Society to recall the invitation they have given me to settle with you, I am content." — pp. 144 – 146.

The committee, it appears, "did not think the matters in question were so essential as to suspend their proceedings." "Some of them" — we give Dr. Belknap's words — "said they differed from me in their apprehension of these points, but as we agreed in the main truths of Christianity, faith, repentance, and holiness, and salvation through Jesus Christ, there was no need of further debate; and then proceeded to make preparation for my instalment."

Dr. Belknap died June 19, 1798, in the fifty-fifth year of his age, and the thirtieth of his united ministries in Dover and Boston, — the eleventh of the latter. He was seized suddenly with a paralytic affection, for which two previous slighter attacks had prepared him, and he regarded them as monitors to fulfil with earnestness the work appointed him. His bosom friend and companion, Dr. John Clarke, had departed with like suddenness at a still earlier age;* and some

* The most intimate friendship subsisted between these excellent persons. Dr. Belknap, whose own readiness to bestow his literary aid on all who sought or needed it was remarkable, is understood to have been assisted in the compilation of his Psalms and Hymns by his friend. When separated, they maintained a correspondence; and on one of his journeys, Dr. Belknap's carriage having twice broken down, though with no other injury than the detention and inconvenience, Dr. Clarke, who had been faithfully informed, thus writes of the accident. Those of our readers who are familiar with his published letters and sermons may discover even in this *jeu d'esprit* no indistinct traces of his carefully measured style. "Our brothers are well, and do not forget you at their social meetings. Do write often, and let all your letters assure us, that, though your carriage breaks

traditions or remembrances are preserved of an interesting dream, in which Dr. Belknap imagined that his friend appeared to him, on a visit from the heavenly world; and that he had eagerly inquired of him as to the nature of his employments and the felicity he was enjoying. The curiosity, if thus expressed, was soon to be gratified. They who were thus pleasant in their lives were separated in their deaths by the interval of only a few short weeks, and permitted together to behold God's face in righteousness, and to enter upon a service for which their earthly ministries were but imperfect preparations.

In this brief and inadequate view we have taken of a distinguished scholar and divine, we cannot but "remember the way" through which it pleased the Great Disposer to conduct him to his eminent usefulness and honor. We have adverted to the spiritual conflicts and humility of heart with which he entered upon his ministry. We have seen that for many years of the most important period of his life he was no stranger to poverty and the depressing cares which it involves. The very works which are the monuments of his genius and the security of his fame did nothing to supply his needs. But now, after a few years have passed, New Hampshire, that witnessed his struggles while he was penning her history, claims him as one of her most honored sons. A county within her borders is called after him. The descendants of the people to whom he ministered, though too young to have known him, cherish his memory; and the stranger in Dover cannot pass through its streets or survey its buildings without seeing inscribed upon them the name of Belknap. F. P.

Art. VI. — NON-RESISTANCE.*

The present is emphatically an age of excitement. Inquiry is abroad in the community. Investigations, not only

down, your bones are whole; though your beds are hard, your sleep is sound; though your fare is coarse, your hunger is allayed; and though you part with your money, you keep your spirits." — p. 234.

* *Christian Non-Resistance, in all its important Bearings, illustrated and defended.* By Adin Ballou. Philadelphia. 1846. 12mo. pp. 240.

manly and bold, but daring and reckless, are going on in the midst of us. In a country like ours, where men of all opinions and of no opinions are equally tolerated, we may naturally expect the freest inquiry, the boldest investigation, and the most extravagant theories. But while we are left free to confront error with truth, and to combat extravagance with reason, we have no occasion for alarm. Still, while we have entire confidence in the power of truth, we ought not to relax our efforts in exposing error. The great power of truth lies in the very fact, that it will so commend itself to intelligent minds, that they will make every effort to inculcate and defend it. Whenever or wherever error is advanced, it must be met by argument and be put down, — not by the arm of the law, but by the power of truth. Even when the error is an old, exploded one, if it be brought forward anew, the battle must be fought over again; for many of our modern heroes will consider themselves invincible, if they are left in the quiet possession of any field. The task may be an unpleasant and a laborious one; but the advocate of truth must be willing to buckle on his armor whenever the foe appears; he must act as a minute-man, and at the same time enlist during the war; he must assail error and expose folly wherever they may appear, or whoever may be their advocates.

We have been led to these remarks by the perusal of the work before us. Mr. Ballou is one of that class of professed Christians who find little or nothing to approve either in Church or State. He is so opposed to the present organization of society, that he and a few others have in a manner withdrawn from the world, and formed themselves into a *community*, where their property to a certain extent is held in common. They have no fellowship with any sect in religion, no sympathy with any party in politics; but renounce all communion with the Church, and abjure all allegiance to human governments. They are, to a certain extent, *Come-outers*, with reference both to religion and to politics, — regarding Church and State, as at present organized, as so corrupt and corrupting, that it is the duty of all good men to come out from them. They seem entirely to overlook the important fact, that the evils in the world arise, not so much from the organization of society as from the imperfections and vices of the individuals who compose it.

The temper of the work before us is generally good,

though the author has sometimes been betrayed into that severity and uncharitableness which are too common with those who style themselves "reformers." We will give one extract as a specimen of this severity, which is hardly consistent in one who calls himself "a Christian Non-Resistant," and who virtually tells us in his preface that he is half a century in advance of the age.

"We must," says he, "listen again to the scoffs of skepticism, the growls of frowning bigotry, and the jargon of Babylon the great. We must hear those who make the sword, the gibbet, and the dungeon their gods, denounce the doctrine of mercy, and extol the efficacy of cruelty."

The book, in the main, is written with marked ability, though it contains some things not worthy of the author's acknowledged talents. His divisions and subdivisions are a little too artificial; and if the "hand of Joab" is not in the work, there is frequently paraded on his page an index or *hand*, pointing to some word or sentence, — which we think in bad taste. But these are minor faults, on which we have no disposition to dwell.

Mr. Ballou defines his doctrine as follows: —

"It is not non-resistance to animals and inanimate things, nor to Satan, but only to human beings. Nor is it *moral* non-resistance to human beings, but chiefly physical. Nor is it physical non-resistance to all human beings under all circumstances, but only so far as to abstain totally from the infliction of personal injury as a means of resistance. It is simply non-resistance of injury with injury, evil with evil." — p. 11.

Mr. Ballou holds that it is wrong in all cases to inflict any punishment of a character injurious to the individual; and that no injustice may be done to his views, we will let him define his own position, and explain his use of the term *injury*.

"I use the term in a somewhat peculiar sense, to signify any moral influence or physical force exerted by one human being upon another, the legitimate effect of which is to destroy or impair life, to destroy or impair the physical faculties, to destroy or impair the intellectual powers, to destroy, impair, or pervert the moral and religious sentiments, or to destroy or impair the absolute welfare, all things considered, of the person on whom such influence or force is exerted; whether that person be inno-

cent or guilty, harmless or offensive, injurious or uninjurious, sane or insane, *compos mentis* or *non compos mentis*, adult or infant. Some of the lexicographers define an 'injury' to be 'hurt, harm, or mischief *unjustly* done to a person,' thereby implying that any hurt, harm, or mischief done to one who deserves nothing better, or can be considered as justly liable to it, is no injury at all. I reject entirely every such qualification of the term. I hold an injury to be an injury, whether deserved or undeserved, whether intended or unintended, whether well-meant or ill-meant, determining the fact in accordance with the foregoing definition." — pp. 15, 16.

We will next present the reader with Mr. Ballou's opinion of the governments under which we live, both state and national.

"The governments now under notice are radically, fundamentally, anti-Christian. 'The whole head is sick, and the whole heart is faint.' Military and injurious penal power is their very life-blood, — the stamina of their existence. They are as repugnant to non-resistance as pride is to humility, wrath to meekness, vengeance to forgiveness, death to life, destruction to salvation." — p. 220.

"If I accept any office of distinction, I must swear or affirm to support the Constitution, not in parts, but entire. In fact, I cannot vote, without either actually taking such an oath or affirmation, or, at least, virtually acknowledging myself to be under the highest obligations of allegiance. Government, in this country, is vested in the voters. They are leagued together by their common declaration of sentiments and mutual covenant — the Constitution — to conduct the government in a certain way, and to maintain its authority by military force. It seems to have been universally taken for granted that military force would be indispensable. It is therefore a gross fraud and imposition for any man to appear at the ballot-box as a voter, who is at heart false to the Constitution, who does not mean in good faith to abide by and support it, and just as it is, till it can be constitutionally amended. This is what a non-resistant cannot do without treason to the Divine government; without trampling under foot the precepts of Jesus Christ. . . . . I will hold office on no such conditions. I will not be a voter on such conditions. I will join no church or state who hold such a creed, or prescribe such a covenant for the subscription of their members." — pp. 221, 222.

These citations put us in possession of Mr. Ballou's sentiments. On the practical workings of such a theory we

need not enlarge. We have no disposition to call Mr. Ballou's sincerity in question; for we have long been satisfied that men may be sincere in error, as well as in truth. Men of strong feelings and ardent temperament may brood over a single subject, till its importance is so magnified in their estimation, that they can hardly perceive any thing else. Nor does strength of intellect always guard such men from error. We often see men of strong mental powers, whose minds appear to run in a groove; and they seem to have almost as little disposition or ability to hearken to reason, or turn from their favorite path, as a locomotive has to quit the track of a railroad. But, while we accord to such men sincerity and a becoming zeal, we cannot allow them to be sure guides to truth. Our author is undoubtedly sincere; but we are still of the opinion, that his doctrines are subversive of all order, and fatal to the peace and well-being of society.

We are aware that he attempts to sustain his positions by the Scriptures, and appeals to the teachings and example of Christ. But, after a careful examination of his arguments, we must say that they are not satisfactory to us. We revere the teaching of Christ; we bow submissively to the revealed will of God. But, at the same time, we know that men may err in their interpretation of Christ's discourses. We have but little confidence in that system of interpretation which relies upon the mere sound of a passage or a phrase. We have too much regard for the revelations of the Most High to adopt a system of exegesis thus narrow and arbitrary. We are far from believing that every truth of God is contained in his written revelation. There are great and fundamental truths taught by the Creator in his works, which lie behind all written revelation. Among these we may mention the existence of God, and the moral, intellectual, and social nature of man. These are divine truths, and exist independently of the Bible. They were known before the sacred books were written, and are as binding, as divine, as any thing contained in the written volume. Nay, they constitute the basis of all written revelations, and furnish a standard by which these must be interpreted. This is self-evident. For, if there were no God, there could be no revelation from him; and if man were not an intellectual, moral, and social being, such revelations as the Bible contains would be entirely useless. The intellectual, moral, and social nature of man not only precedes the teachings of

Christ, but furnishes a sure standard by which his teachings are to be interpreted. If there were a passage in Scripture, the literal interpretation of which would conflict with the position that man is an intellectual, moral, and social being, that fact alone would require us to seek for some other exposition.

The social nature of man not only prompts him to seek society, but renders society essential to the full development of his powers. "It is not good for man to be alone." The great end of his being would be defeated, if he were to live in solitude. We learn, then, independently of the Bible, that God designed man for society. And society requires government and laws, and can no more exist without them than the material world can exist without the law of gravity. We have, then, Divine authority for the establishment of civil institutions. We have the same evidence of man's social nature that we have of his existence; and we can no more doubt that he was made for society than we can doubt that he was made at all. This social nature, established by the Creator, impressed upon us by the favoring hand of God himself, not only proves that man was made for society, but that he has duties which he owes to society. Every duty of which we can conceive grows out of some relation which subsists between man and some other being. When we speak of man's duty to God, we imply that there is some relation between him and us. God being our Creator, we stand in the relation of children to him, and hence are under all the obligations which that relation implies. Our social nature allies us to society, and all the relations that thence arise create new obligations. To illustrate this point, let us take our original ancestors. Adam was created by God, and, standing in the relation of a child, he owed certain duties to his Maker. But, having no earthly brethren, there could be no such relation, and hence no duties, towards them. But as soon as Eve was created, a new relation arose, which relation created new obligations. As his family increased, these relations would multiply, and each would bring with it a new class of duties. The right of property, which could not be contested when there was but a single inhabitant of the earth, must, of necessity, come up as population increased. Every new relation in society, every advance from the savage state, imposes some new duty, and lays man under some new obligation. The very idea of so-

ciety implies relations and duties; and all duties imply some restraint. As each individual has personal rights, when he enters into society these rights will, and to a certain extent must, be trenched upon by other individuals, or by society; and hence some rules and regulations must be established to define and guard private rights, and to preserve social order. These rules and regulations, or, in other words, *laws*, presuppose a law-making power; and the administration of the laws implies a judicial department in some form or other. And as all laws imply a penalty, there must be a power residing somewhere to execute the law and exact the penalty. Thus the social nature of man implies society, society implies laws, and these presuppose a civil government in some form or other.

Government grows as necessarily out of the social nature of man, as religion out of his moral nature. The wants of the individual and the wants of the community both demand civil institutions. Man is one side of his nature selfish, and, were there no laws to restrain him, he would, in the indulgence of his selfishness, seize upon the property of others. The numerous thefts and robberies, even in well-regulated communities, show conclusively that without law the world would be overrun with violence. So well satisfied have men always been of the necessity of law, that no nation or people or tribe has ever existed without some form of government. The very nature of man and the structure of society imperatively demand restraining rules to secure the general peace and safety. If any people should attempt to live without law, they would soon be compelled to abandon that course. For unprincipled men are found in every community; and when one of them should make war upon society and habitually invade the rights of others, — assailing female virtue, seizing upon whatever property he might desire, and killing all that might oppose his criminal designs, — that community would rise at once and execute summary justice upon the offender, or would at least adopt some regulations for the prevention of such enormities in future. Laws are necessary to protect not only the virtuous, but the vicious also. Let an act of homicide be committed in a community where there was no law, and where public indignation had no restraint, and the plea of insanity, which is justly and successfully set up in many cases in a land of law and order, would in most cases be disregarded, and

Lynch law would soon put the offender out of existence. Acting from excitement, great injustice would generally be done, and cruel and unnatural punishments would be inflicted, and sometimes would fall upon the innocent.

Civil government is just what common sense would dictate, and what the experience of mankind has always found to be necessary. Government is essential to all well-regulated communities, and would grow up from necessity among any people. Let us suppose that a man and his wife were shipwrecked upon an uninhabited island in the midst of the ocean, and were entirely ignorant of the existence of human government. Being the sole possessors of the island, and having no intercourse with the rest of the world, they would not at first see the necessity of any government. In a short time, another pair, as ignorant of all government as themselves, are cast upon the same island. Then the question of property would arise, and some arrangement would take place upon that subject. If at first they should adopt a community of goods, and agree to hunt and fish together, as their number increased, and their children arrived at manhood, they would, in all probability, separate into families, that each might manage its own affairs in its own way, and enjoy the fruits of its own industry. Living in separate families, there would naturally be a division of the soil or hunting-ground, which must be the subject of conventional arrangement. With the ordinary disposition of citizens, as their interests might come in competition, disputes would arise; and these must either be decided by brute force, or be referred to some arbiter, if one could be agreed upon. But the parties, being excited, would find it difficult, in some cases, to agree upon an arbiter. This would naturally lead to the selection of a general arbiter or judge, for all cases where the parties could not agree. It would also be found necessary to adopt some rules and regulations by which the arbiter should be governed; otherwise he might be partial, and do injustice to one of the parties. And as cases should arise for which they had no established rule, they would be led to make provision for the prevention or settlement of such cases in future. Rules would be multiplied, and regulations adopted, as new cases arose, or the wants of the people demanded. Thus we should find civil government growing up among the inhabitants of this island from necessity. If the people were sufficiently intelligent to understand their own interests, this would take

place as a matter of course. But a rude and ignorant people would be quite as likely to resort to brute force in cases of controversy; this would lead to war, when some master spirit, who had distinguished himself in the contest, would place himself at the head of the victorious party, and become the lawgiver of the people. But as no one man could attend to all the affairs of state in person, he would be compelled to organize some form of government, for the purpose of conducting the affairs of his kingdom. In either case, a human government would exist from the necessity of the case. Such has been the experience of every people, and such, we venture to predict, will be the fact in all coming ages.

Now, if the Bible were silent upon this subject, if it taught nothing, even by implication, in relation to the necessity of civil government, no rational man could entertain a doubt respecting it. The very nature which God has given us not only suggests, but requires, civil institutions; and the duty of establishing and maintaining them is just as important and as binding as though it were enjoined on every page of Scripture. But we maintain that the revealed will of God, as contained in the Scriptures, not only allows, but justifies and demands, the establishment and maintenance of civil institutions. If we look at the Old Testament, we shall see the Deity leaving his throne in the heavens, and coming down to establish a civil government among his chosen people, — a government containing a criminal code and a civil code, extending to all classes of crimes, and to the most minute police regulations. This government and these laws were established to guard the rights, preserve the peace, and promote the happiness of the people. The obligations there recognized, and the duties there enjoined, grew, in a great measure, out of the relations which society created, — out of the social state of man. And if we look at the New Testament, we shall see that this last, best gift of God to man does not annul civil institutions. Christ, it is true, abrogated "the legal dispensation," as such; but he did not discard the moral elements which lay at the foundation of the Mosaic Law. He dissolved the Levitical priesthood, but he retained and perfected all that was moral and spiritual in the worship of Jehovah. He abrogated the Jewish theocracy; but he handed over to the nations of the earth the whole department of civil institutions. He came not to destroy the Law, in any moral sense, but to enforce its obligations by higher and more holy

sanctions. He could not, therefore, revoke any of those obligations which grow out of the relations we sustain to God, to one another, and to society. The civil department of the Jewish dispensation was founded on the principle, that, living in a social state, man sustains relations and owes duties to his brother-man; and as long as man lives in society, these relations and duties must exist. The Jewish law recognized the principle, that each individual has certain rights and privileges, which no other can rightfully invade; and as long as these rights and privileges appertain to man, civil government will be necessary for his protection. In fact, as long as men live in society, as long as they have passions which they do not restrain, as long as they are imperfect beings, government and laws will be found necessary. The same causes which required civil government in the days of Moses require it under the Gospel. It may not be necessary to affix the same penalty to a law now, as was found expedient in ruder states of society; but government and laws are essential in every age of the world. Hence the Gospel as well as the Law, Christ no less than Moses, requires the establishment and maintenance of civil institutions. The Apostle expressly declares, that "the powers that be are ordained of God," and that the civil ruler is "the minister of God for good, an avenger to execute wrath upon him that doeth evil."

If we are right in the view we have taken, it follows, with all the force of moral demonstration, that civil institutions are not only allowed, but absolutely required, by the Supreme Lawgiver of the universe. This doctrine, as we have seen, grows necessarily out of that social and moral nature which God has given us, and is fully sustained by the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament. The very law of love, which non-resistants appear to think supersedes human governments, absolutely requires their establishment. In the Divine law, man's love to himself is recognized, and is made the measure of his love to others: — "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself." Now, if a man loves himself, in the Christian sense of that term, he will set up such institutions as will protect him in his life, liberty, and property, — as will give him the greatest amount of civil, social, and moral enjoyment, consistent with the rights and interests of others. He will institute such a government, and enact such laws, as will enable him best to develop his powers, and bring him into the closest communion with his Maker. And if he loves

his neighbour as himself, he will set up these same institutions for his neighbour's good. He cannot be said to "love the Lord his God with all his heart," unless he uses all the means which God has put in his power to improve himself and society, and so augment the sum of human happiness. Thus the two great commands, — the summary of the Old Testament and the essence of the New, — instead of being hostile to civil governments, lay us under the most solemn obligation to establish and maintain them.

We have dwelt longer upon this part of our subject than would otherwise be necessary, because we believe that our position, that God requires human governments, is fatal to the theory of non-resistance. We have endeavoured to show that civil government is designed by God, and grows necessarily out of the wants of associated man. If this be true, human government, in some form, is designed as a perpetual institution, and hence must be invested with all the powers necessary for self-preservation. It must, to answer the end for which it was designed, possess the power of defending itself and protecting its citizens, of preventing the greatest amount of evil, and of producing the greatest amount of good. It must be clothed with authority to make all laws which the condition of the people may require, and to enforce them with such penalties as may seem best calculated to secure the great end for which it was instituted. In a word, government must be invested with sovereign power. It has, and from the nature of the case must have, the right of self-defence, even if it be by the sword. To deny to government the power of self-defence is practically to defeat the whole object for which it was instituted. Government could neither fulfil the appointment of Heaven, nor promote the welfare of the people, if it were shorn of this vital, self-sustaining prerogative. As the wants of the people demand a government, so they demand the exercise of every power necessary for its preservation. Civil institutions being a blessing to society, every thing indispensable to their preservation must, all things considered, be viewed in the same light. Even war, great as that calamity is, when undertaken in strict self-defence, is justifiable. It is a means, painful and terrific, of averting a greater evil, — anarchy, or unconditional servitude. On the same principle, every sovereignty has power over the property, the liberty, and lives of its citizens. The property of an individual must yield to the paramount interest

of the community, they rendering him a just compensation. When an individual becomes dangerous to the community, that community have a right to abridge his liberty; and when an individual levies war against the government or its citizens, that government has the right, in virtue of its sovereignty, to take the life of the individual. These powers should not be exercised for slight or trivial causes; but when an exigency arises, and the question is presented, whether the government shall be overthrown, and the whole people exposed to all the evils of anarchy and bloodshed, or the author of all this intended misery shall be put to death, there can be no doubt of the rightful power of the government to take the life of the offender. It grows out of the right of self-defence, or, in other words, of self-preservation. We admit that taking life is, in the abstract, an evil; but viewed in connection with the good of society, it is what enlightened benevolence requires. Mr. Ballou himself allows that amputating a limb, though an evil in the abstract, is justifiable, on the ground that the limb has become a nuisance, and its removal may save the life of the individual. So society has the right to cut off one of its members that has become incurably diseased, in order to preserve the health and save the life of the body politic. To controvert this principle is to arraign the administration of the Almighty; for in the government of the world we see this doctrine daily exhibited.

The Divine authority of human government teaches another important lesson, which is repugnant to Mr. Ballou's theory. We have already seen that society creates certain relations, and these relations impose certain duties; and these are, of course, binding upon each member of the community. Men living in society can no more escape from the responsibilities of citizens, than they can escape from the responsibility they are under to God. The vague notion entertained by non-resistant Come-outers, that they can live in society, and partake of all the blessings of good government, without incurring any obligation to sustain the government, is preposterous. It is founded on gross selfishness, and is at war with some of the first principles of Gospel morality. It is true, they pretend that they ask no favors of the government, and seek no protection from the magistrate. But all such persons must know that the government throws its protecting ægis over every person, without any application on his part. These men hold property under the laws of the land, and en-

joy personal protection as much as others. They labor, knowing that the law will secure to them the fruit of their toil; they sleep quietly at night, from a knowledge that the watchmen guard the city, and that the arm of the magistrate wields a sword which tends to awe the assassin and hold the midnight incendiary in check. They know that the great value of law lies in its power to prevent crime, and to secure order and peace in the community. They know that this mild influence of law is felt everywhere, and, like the gentle dew of heaven, descends upon all. They cannot be ignorant of the fact, that they, in common with the friends of human government, enjoy all the blessings of law and order, all the blissful fruits of well-regulated institutions. But they tell us that they renounce all allegiance to human government. Renounce all allegiance to human government! Live under the protection of law, and partake of all the blessings flowing therefrom, and still owe no obligation to the hand that protects them! Is this the high and holy code of which they boast, — this the pure and elevated morality, the new system of ethics, by which the world is to be regenerated? They might, on the same principle, abjure the government of Him in whom they "live and move and have their being." They might as well say to the Author of all good, whose perpetual pensioners they are, whose arm upholds and whose hand feeds them, — We ask no favors, we owe no allegiance. But we will not pursue this absurdity. Such men enjoy the protection of law, and partake of the innumerable blessings which flow from civil institutions, and then, like the serpent in the fable, would sting the bosom which warms them into life.

But we should do injustice to Mr. Ballou, did we not state that he professes to derive his doctrine of non-resistance from the Scriptures. We will let him speak for himself.

"Whence originated the term *Christian non-resistance?* Non-resistance comes from the injunction, '*Resist not evil.*' Matt. v. 39. The words '*resist not*,' being changed from the form of a verb to that of a substantive, give us *non-resistance.* . . . . . Now let us examine Matt. v. 39. 'I say unto you, resist not evil,' etc. This single text, from which, as has been stated, the term non-resistance took its rise, if justly construed, furnishes a complete key to the true bearings, limitations, and applications of the doctrine under discussion. This is precisely one of those precepts which may be easily made to mean much more, or much

less, than its author intended. It is in the *intensive*, condensed form of expression, and can be understood only by a due regard to its context." — pp. 20 – 22.

Here is the statement of the question by the author of the volume before us, and here the key-text on which he relies. We agree fully with him in saying that the passage, "Resist not evil," is "precisely one of those precepts which may be easily made to mean much more, or much less, than its author intended," and that "it is in the intensive, condensed form of expression," and should be interpreted with great care and caution. A fundamental rule of interpretation is, to construe all passages in accordance with well-known and established facts, and with the great principles on which all written revelation must rest. We have already seen that the social nature of man implies society, government, and laws; and that this government must have the power of self-preservation. These, we have seen, are fundamental principles, which precede all written revelation, and in accordance with which all Scripture must be construed. Mr. Ballou himself, after dwelling for some time on the subject of government, says, — "I come, then, to the following conclusion; that government of some sort supplies a fundamental want of human nature, and must exist wherever men exist. In this respect it is ordained of God."* Now, if government supplies a fundamental want of human nature, and must exist wherever men exist, and this government is ordained of God, then our author must agree with us, that this is a fundamental truth, with which no Scripture rightly interpreted can conflict. And if government must exist wherever men exist, it must possess, from necessity, the right of self-defence, that is, of self-preservation. We are compelled, then, to construe every passage of Scripture, and consequently the passage, "Resist not evil," in such a manner as to leave those necessary, those Divinely ordained governments in possession of the power of physical self-defence. This disposes of his famous key-text at once, and so saps the foundation of his whole theory. We might safely leave the matter here, and our non-resistant friends would be under the necessity of arraigning particular texts against the fundamental principles of revelation, or of giving up their theory; but we are disposed to examine this subject a little more closely.

* Page 94.

What, then, is the true exposition of the passage, "Resist not evil"? This passage is found in Christ's Sermon on the Mount, which contains many figurative, intensive expressions, that cannot be understood literally, but must be so interpreted as to harmonize with all well-known facts and with the general tenor of the Scriptures. "Resist not evil": — the precept cannot be interpreted literally, because that would make the Saviour declare, contrary to his general teaching, that we must not oppose evil by any means whatever. We are, then, necessarily driven to some qualification of the passage. It contains a prohibition against resisting evil in some manner, and the question is, What is that mode of opposition to evil which is here prohibited? In the first place, it cannot relate to the mode of punishment which civil governments adopt; for Christ was not speaking of governments, but of individuals, — of those who had wives, swore profanely, wore coats and cloaks, etc., which could not be said of governments. So that whatever interpretation we put upon the passage, it can have no reference to civil penalties. The context also shows that our divine Master was treating of motives rather than of outward actions. He knew that the Jewish people had made the Law "of none effect by their traditions"; and that by their glosses they had perverted the spirit of the Law, and were disposed to rest on the letter, which they had also abused and perverted. He alludes to those corrupters of the Law by the phrase, "them of old time." It is manifest that he refers to their comments, rather than to the text of Moses; for one of the sayings ascribed to them, "Thou shalt love thy neighbour and *hate thine enemy*," is not contained in the Law of Moses. Our Saviour alludes to various subjects on which the expounders of Moses had missed the sense or perverted the sentiment of that Law, which Jesus came "not to destroy, but to fulfil." They had placed the criminality of murder in the outward act, but Jesus called their attention to that anger and malice whence murder proceeds.* He alludes also to adultery, and fixes the criminality in the heart; to voluntary oaths, which he repudiates. In each of these cases, the divine Teacher calls back the attention of the people to the motive, and endeavours to improve their conduct and their creed by addressing himself to the heart, and requiring honesty

* See Matt. v. 21, 22, *et seq.*

of purpose. He then comes to the passage in question, which he treats in the same way. The people, in their then polluted state, were disposed to justify every act of personal revenge and cruelty by a reference to, and an abuse of, the penal code of their great lawgiver. This abuse he endeavours to correct. "Ye have heard that it hath been said, An eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth. But I say unto you, that ye resist not evil; but whosoever shall smite thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also." Now the evident meaning of this passage is, Do not retaliate injuries, do not vindictively and maliciously inflict evil upon the evil-doer. This, we are persuaded, is the import of the passage. He virtually tells his followers not to take the law into their own hands, and with a vindictive spirit injure the offender on account of the injury, but rather to be kind and forbearing, and leave God and his magistrates to punish the guilty. This interpretation of the passage takes it entirely out of the hands of our non-resistant friends, and is so offensive to Mr. Ballou that he breaks out in the following unguarded language: — "In this way Jesus is smoothly construed to have really said nothing at all, — practically nothing that Moses and the ancients had not said. . . . . It is to make him the mere *echo* of Moses and his expounders." * We have often noticed a propensity in those who style themselves "reformers" to abuse Moses and his dispensation; and we regret that Mr. Ballou should so far permit himself to be drawn into such a state of mind, as to think it a reproach upon the divine Teacher to call the Jewish people from the abuses of the legal dispensation back to the spirit of that Law which was given by God himself. How does our Lord conclude the very argument in this chapter, on which Mr. Ballou relies to prove his favorite theory? He sums up the whole by saying, — "Be ye therefore perfect, even as your Father which is in heaven is perfect." This summing up of the whole discourse is almost an exact quotation from Leviticus xi. 44, and xix. 2; and why does not Mr. Ballou contemptuously declare that this makes the Saviour say nothing at all, and renders him the mere echo of Moses? Did Christ say nothing at all worthy of the consideration of sincere Christians, when he gave us what is generally denominated his "golden rule," and when he delivered the "two great

* Pages 38, 39.

commandments," because he adds at the close of them, — "This is the *Law* and the prophets"?

The whole force of Mr. Ballou's argument from this passage turns on the position, that Christ must teach something in the precept, "Resist not evil," in opposition to the saying to which he referred in the preceding verse. Now we admit the soundness of this position; but we contend that the antithesis is complete on our construction. The Scribes and Pharisees had abused or perverted the Law of Moses, so as to justify personal revenge and cruelty, which Jesus reprobates in the words, "I say unto you, that ye resist not evil." The labor which Mr. Ballou bestows upon the passage before us shows that he regards it as vital to his theory. And while we admit that his statement of the case is specious, and his arguments ingenious, we believe that a like specious ingenuity would, with equal clearness and force, make other passages in the same discourse of our Lord teach doctrines abhorrent to the first principles of Christianity. "Take no thought for the morrow." This command is as plain as the command, "Resist not evil"; and we might appeal to the context, or to the example of Christ and his Apostles, and, with less display of divisions and subdivisions, we could prove, in the same way in which Mr. Ballou sustains his exposition of Matthew v. 39, that Christ absolutely prohibits Christians from making any provision in any case for the morrow, or even taking any thought for it, so far at least as food and raiment are concerned.

But we have already devoted too much time to this part of our subject. We now propose to show that the parallel passages to which Mr. Ballou himself refers, and which he presses into his service, fully justify our exposition. Our limits will not permit us to remark upon every passage of this class, but we will take the twelfth chapter of Romans, as one of the most striking. The Apostle, in that chapter, discusses the subject of resisting injuries, and adopts almost precisely the same language which Mr. Ballou uses in explaining what he calls his key-text. He presents the subject in various ways, with a marked variety of phraseology, and furnishes us with the reason why we must not avenge our own wrongs. In verse tenth, he says, — "Be kindly affectioned one to another with brotherly love"; in verse fourteenth, — "Bless them which persecute you; bless, and curse not"; and in verse seventeenth, — "Recompense to no man evil for

evil." Here we have the subject of resistance, or non-resistance, presented in three different forms of expression; but the Apostle, in the very next verse, gives us a distinct intimation that resistance in all cases could not be dispensed with: — "*If it be possible, as much as lieth in you,* live peaceably with all men." Having spoken on the subject of resistance, and given a plain indication that it could not in all cases be avoided, with this limitation in view he says, in verse nineteenth, — "Dearly beloved, avenge not yourselves, but rather give place unto wrath [or punishment]; for it is written, Vengeance is mine; I will repay, saith the Lord." Here we are commanded, with the limitation contained in the preceding verse, not to avenge our own wrongs, but rather give place to the due execution of the law; and the reason is assigned why we should refrain from taking justice into our own hands: — "I will repay, saith the Lord," — I will punish the transgressor. From the doctrine thus laid down, the Apostle draws the following inference, in verses twentieth and twenty-first: — "Therefore, if thine enemy hunger, feed him; if he thirst, give him drink; for in so doing thou shalt heap coals of fire on his head. Be not overcome of evil, but overcome evil with good." The doctrine of the Apostle in this chapter is too plain to be mistaken. He enjoins the exercise of benevolence and love, commands us not to render evil for evil, and, as far as it can possibly be done with safety, not to avenge our own wrongs; because God in his providential government will punish the transgressor. An important inquiry here arises, — How, or by what instrumentality, will God punish the transgressor? The Apostle has fully answered this question. He closes the twelfth chapter in the language we have already quoted, and in the very next words he informs us that God has instituted human governments to do this very thing. He considers the subject of human governments, and points out their power of punishing transgressors, through the first seven verses of this thirteenth chapter, and then, in verse eighth, resumes the subject on which he was speaking in the twelfth chapter, and repeats the same sentiment in nearly the same language: — "Owe no man any thing, but to love one another; for he that loveth another hath fulfilled the law." The argument of the Apostle is clearly this: — The Gospel requires benevolence and love; hence you are never to render evil for evil, or *retaliate* injuries. As far as possible, you are to refrain

from avenging your own personal wrongs ; for God, through the instrumentality of human governments, which he himself has ordained, will punish the violations of law more equitably than you could do ; therefore exercise love and forbearance one to another, for this is fulfilling the law.

If this view of the subject can be sustained, it furnishes a full and perfect refutation of the theory of non-resistance. What, then, is the doctrine of the Apostle in the first seven verses of the thirteenth chapter of Romans ? In the first two verses he says, — " Let every soul be subject unto the higher powers. For there is no power but of God : the powers that be are ordained of God. Whosoever, therefore, resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God ; and they that resist shall receive to themselves damnation." Here we have the great doctrines laid down, that governments are ordained of God, and that men are bound to obey them. We shall not stop here to notice Mr. Ballou's metaphysical distinctions between a government *per se*, a government *de jure*, and a government *de facto ;* it is sufficient for our purpose to take his confession, that " government of some sort supplies a fundamental want of human nature, and must exist wherever men exist," and that " governments *de facto* are the nearest approaches which the mass of men, in their present low moral condition, are capable of making to the true ideal," and that, " in this respect, government is ordained of God." * Neither is it necessary to inquire in what sense government is ordained of God ; it is sufficient for our present purpose to know that God has instituted government in a sense so direct as to lay men under obligation to obey its laws. Hence, " they that resist shall receive to themselves damnation." The Apostle continues his argument in verses third to sixth, inclusive, as follows: — " For rulers are not a terror to good works, but to the evil. Wilt thou, then, not be afraid of the power ? do that which is good, and thou shalt have praise of the same ; for he is the minister of God to thee for good. But if thou do that which is evil, be afraid ; for he beareth not the sword in vain : for he is the minister of God, a revenger to execute wrath upon him that doeth evil. Wherefore ye must needs be subject, not only for wrath, but also for conscience' sake. For, for this cause pay ye tribute also ; for they are God's ministers, at-

* Page 94.

tending continually upon this very thing." Here we have several important doctrines distinctly laid down. First, that God ordains human governments. The Apostle says:— "The powers that be are ordained of God"; that governments are "the ordinance of God"; and that the magistrate is "the minister of God." Secondly, that these governments have full power to punish transgressors, and to defend themselves. This position grows necessarily out of the first; for if God has instituted government as a perpetual institution, he must have clothed it with the power of self-defence, that is, of self-preservation. We are also told by the Apostle, that the magistrate is "the minister of God, a revenger to execute wrath upon him that doeth evil"; that his retributions are such as to excite fear, and prove a terror to evil-doers; and that "he beareth not the sword in vain." Thirdly, that every citizen is bound to obey the government and sustain its authority. This position is the only legitimate inference to be drawn from the two preceding. St. Paul places the duty of submission or obedience directly upon the fact that God has ordained governments, and ordained them for good, — for the restraint of evil-doers, and for the praise of them that do well. But some persons would have us believe, that we owe nothing to governments but mere non-resistant submission; that we must submit, not approvingly, but simply because we are forbidden to resist evil, — thus making the duty a mere negative duty. It is obvious that the Apostle goes much farther than this. He makes it a positive, active duty, founded on the fact that God has instituted government for good; and he requires us, on Christian principles, to sustain it, as we would any other good, any other Divine institution; not simply from a fear of punishment, but "for conscience' sake."

The same truths are taught in other passages of Scripture. Paul commands Titus (iii. 1) to put the believers in mind "to be subject to principalities and powers, to obey magistrates, to be ready to every good work." Being subject to authority and obeying magistrates are not only enjoined, but, by being classed with other "good works," are made active Christian duties. Peter says (1 Pet. ii. 13–15): — "Submit yourselves to every ordinance of man for the Lord's sake; whether it be to the king, as supreme; or unto governors, as unto them that are sent by him for the punishment of evil-doers, and for the praise of them that do well.

For so is the will of God, that with *well-doing* ye may put to silence the ignorance of foolish men." Submission to authority is here enjoined, though government is called the "ordinance of man," and this obedience is to be rendered "for the Lord's sake." Peter evidently meant to make this submission something more than mere non-resistance; for he adds, in immediate connection, — "Honor all men. Love the brotherhood. Fear God. Honor the king." In this passage honoring the king, or government, is made a positive virtue, as much as loving the brotherhood or fearing God. Peter also speaks (2 Pet. ii. 9, 10) of "the unjust" whom God has reserved "unto the day of judgment to be punished," and then adds, — "But chiefly them that walk after the flesh in the lust of uncleanness, and *despise government.* Presumptuous are they, self-willed; they *are not afraid to speak evil of dignities.*" Jude makes use of nearly the same language, when speaking of the same class of sinners. These passages of Scripture teach us that submission to government is a positive virtue, founded on Christian principles; and hence the performance of this duty is commended, and the violation of it is classed with other sins which God will bring into judgment.

These passages fully sustain the interpretation we have given to Paul's language to the Romans. The duty of paying tribute Paul enforces by the fact, that the magistrate, devoting himself continually to public affairs, should, on the principles of Christian justice, be supported by those for whose benefit the government is instituted and the laws administered. He then sums up our duty to government, in the seventh verse of the thirteenth chapter, as follows: — "Render therefore to all their dues: tribute to whom tribute is due; custom to whom custom; fear to whom fear; honor to whom honor."

Having declared that governments are ordained of God, and that he employs the civil magistrate to punish transgressors, and has clothed him with full power for that purpose, — that we owe to government, not mere non-resistant submission, but active, cheerful obedience, — the Apostle resumes the subject of which he was treating in the preceding chapter, and commands us to love one another, thereby teaching us that all he had said in relation to government is to be taken in connection with what he had said in the preceding chapter respecting avenging our own wrongs. The Apos-

tle's argument is too clear to be mistaken. In the twelfth chapter he commands us not to retaliate injuries, and as far as possible not to avenge the wrongs which we have received, or with which we may be threatened, because God will punish the aggressor. He then informs us that God carries on this retribution through the instrumentality of human governments, which he ordains and clothes with full power for that purpose. We can hardly conceive of a statement more clear, or an argument more conclusive; and if Paul had written this portion of his Epistle for the express purpose of refuting the doctrine of non-resistance, we cannot see how he could have been more explicit. The passage we have been considering fully confirms the exposition we have given of Matt. v. 39; so that Mr. Ballou will find that his key-text unlocks a theory directly opposite to his own.

Having examined somewhat in detail the two principal passages on which non-resistants rely, we shall dismiss the Scripture argument, so far as particular texts are concerned. We shall notice, however, the use that is made of a class of passages which have, in our opinion, no bearing upon the subject. Mr. Ballou has brought together a great number of texts, in which kindness, and love, and charity, and forbearance, and mercy, and long-suffering are enjoined. Now we say concerning all such passages, that, while they teach important Christian duties, they have nothing to do with the controversy before us. Mr. Ballou cannot make them favor his peculiar views, unless he is able to show that punishment is irreconcilable with love and kindness. Is he prepared to take that ground? Will he admit that God is hateful, unkind, and unmerciful, because he punishes his creatures, rendering "indignation and wrath, tribulation and anguish, upon every soul of man that doeth evil"? He must take this extreme ground, or confess that these passages are not to his purpose. But perhaps he may say that the Divine punishments do not injure the individual punished, and so do not come within his definition of evil and injury. We reply, that the Divine punishments do come strictly within his definition of injury and wrong; they do "destroy or impair life"; they do "destroy or impair the physical faculties." God, under his own special government of the Jews, did take life for a great variety of crimes; and, in his providence, he is daily doing the same in the midst of us. Who does not know that God has affixed to intemperance and sensuality, and many other vices,

a penalty that destroys or impairs the physical faculties, and life itself? Now our author may embrace either horn of the dilemma; he may say that such punishments are or are not consistent with goodness. If he says that they are, then he yields a principle which saps the foundation of his non-resistant scheme; but if he says they are not, then he accuses the Almighty of injustice and cruelty. Mr. Ballou speaks of the example of Christ and the efficacy of kindness, of the mercy of God, and the benevolent system of the Gospel, as though these themes were all his own. Now we deny to non-resistants altogether the monopoly of these themes. To their representations of the mercy and compassion of God we most heartily respond. In their admiration of the pure precepts and the matchless character of Christ they have our entire sympathy. The fact is, the God of the universe is our God, as well as theirs; and his Son is the common teacher of mankind; and we maintain that the revelations of God and the teachings of his Son not only are consistent with our views, but are the foundation on which they rest, and we have the same right to employ all these subjects in support of our views that the non-resistants have in support of theirs.

But the efficacy of kindness our friend seems disposed to monopolize entirely. He speaks of it as though none but non-resistants ever dreamed that love and kindness were powerful agents in softening the human heart and reforming sinners. A person who should receive his impressions entirely from Mr. Ballou's work would suppose that all those who did not embrace his theory actually maintained, that love furnished no motive to obedience, that punishment, nay, cruelty, was the only means by which society could be governed or the human heart reached. The question is, not whether moral suasion is a powerful agent in restraining transgressors, but whether it is the only means which is to be employed. We admit the force of kind treatment, and contend that humanity, and justice even, require that mild means should always be employed in the first instance, and that severe means should not be resorted to until the milder means fail. All, therefore, which our friend says about treating the transgressor with kindness is common ground. We agree with him heartily in all his recommendations to enlighten the ignorant and elevate the low and degraded. But all this is common ground, and has nothing to do with the point at issue. He recommends moral means; so do we. He

maintains that kind treatment has great efficacy in subduing the evil passions of men; so do we. He thinks, that, as Christians, we should seek the reformation of our offending brethren; we concur with him in this, and employ all the means which he recommends. But if these do not effect the object, we go further, and employ other means, which he does not. The real difference between us is simply this: we go with him, or, more properly, he goes with us, to a certain point, till all mild means of restraint and reformation are exhausted. If these succeed, the work is accomplished, and there is no occasion for more severe means. The end is attained, and is attained not on non-resistant, but on common, ground. But if these mild moral means do not prove efficacious, — if the hardened offender disregard human kindness, and even trample the goodness of God in the dust, and commence a war of extermination upon society, — we would employ other and more stringent means, and so protect the innocent from his ravages. The non-resistants, on the other hand, would let him go on unmolested, destroying female innocence, robbing the poor of their hard-earned pittance, disturbing the peace of society, and crimsoning the earth with human blood. We will not appeal to the vile passions, but to the tenderest sympathies of our nature, to decide which of these causes is the more benevolent, and better calculated to promote human happiness.

From the view we have taken of this subject, it seems, to us at least, that our system has all the advantages of the system of our friend, and others in addition. We use mild means as well as he, and can go the whole length of his requirements, — can persevere till the mild means are exhausted. If, therefore, there is a sovereign efficacy in these means, we have the advantage of them in common with him. But here comes the dividing point. Here the non-resistant gives up in despair; but we have a further work to perform. Other means are in our hands, which we are required by God to employ to guard the interests of society and reform the offender. These are advantages peculiar to our scheme. Nor can these advantages be obviated by contending, as is sometimes done, that we weaken the efficacy of the mild means by holding the severer in reserve. There is no necessary opposition between these different means. God has made man susceptible of both hope and fear, and in the Gospel both these passions are appealed to. The Gospel system of prom-

ises and threatenings, of rewards and punishments, is founded on the principle, that mild means and severe means may both be employed, and that they are adapted to the nature of man, and act in perfect harmony. Non-resistants, therefore, cannot condemn our system in this particular, without assailing at the same time the "glorious Gospel of the blessed God."

Our author devotes some twenty pages of his book to the inquiry, whether non-resistance is consistent with the laws of nature; in the course of which inquiry he introduces those nice, hair-breadth distinctions of which he appears rather fond, and by which he is enabled to hide the true, practical question at issue. The substance of what he says, as far as we are able to comprehend it, is, that man's nature is capable of such moral improvement as will do away all aggression, and hence all resistance. While we are not disposed to controvert this position, we confess our inability to perceive its bearing upon the point in controversy. The reasoning appears to be this: because man, when his nature shall have been fully developed, will cease from aggression, and so render resistance impracticable, therefore resistance now, before this development has taken place, and while aggressions are daily committed, is unnatural. We can see nothing conclusive, or even plausible, in reasoning like this.

But our author introduces another kind of evidence in support of his theory, which, judging from the space it occupies, he must regard as conclusive in this case. "I now propose," says he, "to offer a series of facts from real life, illustrative of the truths for which I am contending, and in confirmation of my arguments."* He then fills some sixty-five pages — more than one fourth part of his book — with a great variety of anecdotes and scraps collected from newspapers, periodicals, and children's books, gleaned from tradition, or received on mere hearsay, going to show the effect of kindness; and with this sort of evidence he appears to be perfectly transported; for, at the close of the exhibition of it, he exclaims, — "Who can contemplate such practical exemplifications of Christian non-resistance, and not be ravished with the excellence and loveliness of this sublime subject?"† We confess that we read this portion of the book with a degree of mortification and regret. The work professes to be a grave treatise on an important subject, and is "addressed to the reason,

* Page 127. † Page 210.

conscience, and higher sentiments of mankind," not only now, but "half a century hence"; it is undoubtedly the result of much thought and reflection, and contains many good specimens of logical acumen and manly reasoning; and how the author of such a work should be induced to introduce as evidence such stories as the "Two Neighbours and the Manure," "Two Neighbours and the Hens," and other anecdotes of the like character, is more than we can comprehend. We do not believe that a jury could be impanelled in the Commonwealth, that would render a verdict to the amount of one dime on such evidence as these anecdotes afford. In the first place, they are not authenticated; and we have no doubt that, if they were subjected to a judicial investigation, some of them would be found to be mere fabrications, and most of them to be greatly exaggerated. In the next place, were they all true to the letter, they would not exhibit the invariable rule. We presume an equal number of cases could be found, in which corporal chastisement and penal inflictions have humbled and subdued offenders. And in the last place, take them just as they are presented, and they fail utterly to prove the doctrine of non-resistance. As we have already said, we go for the full employment of moral means. We allow the power of kindness, and would have recourse to penal restraint only in cases where moral means have been found ineffectual. So that all this display of "cases from real life," with which our author appears to have been "ravished," yields no support to his favorite system.

The advocates of non-resistance are very fond of attacking the doctrine of capital punishment. But why select the penalty of death any more than that of imprisonment? Mr. Ballou's theory is subversive of our penitentiary system; for no one will pretend that pirates and highwaymen would consent to be imprisoned for life or for a term of years. On his theory, the lowest penalty of the law, a fine, would be a mere nullity. Who believes that they who are determined to pursue an unlawful business for the sake of gain would pay a fine, when, by arming themselves, they could set the civil authority for ever at defiance? The doctrine of entire non-resistance involves the abolition of all penal restraint, and, if carried out, would overthrow all civil government.

We cannot subscribe to the estimate which non-resistants put upon individual rights. They seem to think that the claim of one individual is paramount to that of the public, and that

no man can, by his crimes, forfeit any of his rights. With such sentiments we have no sympathy. We would, as far as possible, preserve the rights of each individual; but we must allow that the aggregate claim of the community is greater than that of one person; and we believe that an individual may, by his own acts of lawless violence, forfeit his own rights. When the hardened offender wages war upon society, and takes the lives of the innocent and defenceless, not only justice, but enlightened humanity, requires that he should be put out of society. The claims of the innocent many are paramount to the claim of the guilty individual. The command, "Thou shalt not kill," is virtually a command to preserve life; and we believe that penal inflictions, even where the penalty is death, do in fact prevent killing, and so preserve life. Penal statutes deter from crime; and in this way not only guard the innocent, but prevent many from becoming guilty; and thus they operate as a blessing to the whole community. If the heartless robber enters my dwelling at midnight, armed with the implements of death, and commences the murder of my wife and children, I have the right to take his life, to save my own and that of my family; and the knowledge that every man possesses this right guards thousands during the defenceless hours of sleep, and prevents hundreds from becoming burglars.

We are no advocate for a sanguinary criminal code; on the contrary, we would have the penalties of the law as mild as the state of society will allow. We would show as much mercy to the violators of the law as is consistent with the peace and safety of the public; but we would not expend all our sympathy and compassion upon the wicked betrayer, so as to have none left for the innocent betrayed. The tendency of the age is to clemency; and when the Gospel shall have performed its perfect work, it will supersede resistance by doing away aggression. While we deprecate the necessity of penal inflictions, we would use all the means in our power to inculcate justice, good-will, and charity among men, as the surest mode of preventing violence. And we would submit to our non-resistant friends, whether they could not do something in this particular, by restraining a little of that vituperation which appears too frequently in their writings. Judging from their public addresses, we must confess that we know of no body of men who are more unsparing in their censures, more sweeping in their denunciation of entire classes,

more bitter and pugnacious in words, at least, than these non-resistant Come-outers. So far as denunciation corrupts public sentiment and engenders ill-will, we are inclined to believe that they contribute their full share to keep up the spirit of violence in the community. We would commend this point to their special consideration, and would say to them and to others, in the language of the Apostle, "Let all bitterness and wrath and anger and clamor and evil-speaking be put away from among you, with all malice; and be ye kind one to another, tender-hearted, forgiving one another, even as God, in Christ, hath forgiven you." C. H.

Art. VII. — MARTINEAU'S DISCOURSES.*

We read Mr. Martineau's "Rationale of Religious Inquiry" soon after it came out, about ten years ago, but were not much interested in it. Afterwards, hearing it spoken of as one of the most remarkable works of the age, we supposed that we must have done it great injustice, and therefore took it up again, but with the same result as before. It did not fulfil the expectations to which the title naturally gave rise. It is not sufficiently comprehensive and complete for a philosophical treatise, and is altogether too loose in its style, arrangement, and definitions. It seemed to us the hasty work of a very able man, and, while the actual performance left us disappointed, it left us also with high expectations of what the author might still do. The public evidently do not agree with us, for a third edition has been called for in England; and there is perhaps no living Unitarian preacher, except Dr. Dewey, whose works are uniformly received with so much favor as Mr. Martineau's.

The present volume is to us far more interesting and satisfactory than either the "Rationale" or the first of the series to which this belongs. The author has here taken what seems to us his true position. Standing on a high eminence of moral and religious truth, he, with earnest thought and vigorous pen, would make known to others what he himself sees. He seldom attempts any thing like an elaborate

* *Endeavours after the Christian Life. Discourses by* James Martineau. Vol. II. London: J. Chapman. 1847. 12mo. pp. 350.

process of reasoning. He paints men to themselves as they are in the light of his truth. He holds up the prevailing objects of human ambition, and the motives to piety and virtue as they appear to him, to make such appeal as they may to the human heart. He is not a formal apologist for religion, but, having proved its reality by his own experience, and felt the entrancing sweetness of its hopes and affections, he would call others to taste these sublime enjoyments, and know how good they are. The best sermons he would regard, not as a passionate appeal even to the religious sensibilities of a congregation, but as a sort of soliloquy, in which the soul manifests its purest and best experience. "Preaching," he tells us in his preface, "is essentially a lyric expression of the soul, an utterance of meditation in sorrow, hope, love, and joy, from a representative of the human heart in its divine relations." Again, he says, — "The thoughts and aspirations which look direct to God, and the kindling of which among a fraternity of men constitutes social worship, are natives of solitude, ... and would not [before a congregation] spontaneously rise, till the presence of a multitude was forgotten, and by a rare effort of abstraction the loneliness of the spirit was restored."

We shall not stop here to inquire whether this comes nearest to the true idea of preaching. As there are divers gifts among ministers, so, we suppose, there may be many best ways of exercising them in addressing religious assemblies. This one is Mr. Martineau's method. We learn from some who have heard him that he is a dull preacher, and from others that he is the most interesting preacher they have ever listened to. After reading the volume of sermons before us, we can understand this difference of judgment; for few sermons, in their immediate effect, must depend more on the state of mind in which they are heard. They could not, unless accompanied by remarkable powers of oratory, chain down and enforce attention; but rather, like a beautiful evening, if we are in the mood for them, and give ourselves passively up to them, they will steal over us and lift us up, and unfold to us rare visions of spiritual life and joy; while, at another time, we may read on for pages and be attracted by nothing that we find in them.

The character of these discourses we have already intimated. They are not appeals either to our reason or to our passions; but rather, religious meditations on man and the

world, in the midst of a beautiful universe and under the varied experience of actual life. As meditations, they are lofty, beautiful, and sometimes inspiring; but they do not remind us of the glow of devotion which we find in the writings of St. Paul, still less of the tender affection which breathes out from the words of Jesus. And here, we think, is their defect as a volume of Christian sermons. They are full of reverence, and yet do not lead us to fall on our knees and pray. They are pervaded everywhere by a true regard for the well-being of man, but they do not quicken our affections and bind us by stronger ties of sympathy and love to our fellow-men. They are too purely intellectual, recognizing the beauty of faith and worship and love, but not breathing them into us. They exhibit in terms of pungent severity the folly of our worldly schemes, they point out to us the better way, and show us magnificent prospects opening through an interminable extent of being; but they do not lovingly take us by the hand and lead us to our Father, or to Jesus, the compassionate Saviour. Indeed, while we find often enough in them the acknowledgment of God as our Father, and of Christ as the purest representative we can have of him, and while one prominent object of the volume is to show that God is not an antiquated being, but now, as much as in the days of Abraham and Moses and Paul, is everywhere present in the world, they do not give us the impression of a Father who is actually with his children, who hears their prayers and has compassion upon them and a near personal connection with them. He is rather an abstract being, an infinite law, a boundless presence, and heaven is shadowy and unreal, rather than a joyous union with God and the spirits of the blessed, such as the heart longs and prays for in its better moments.

In speaking of St. Paul, Mr. Martineau says, — "His ardent and generous soul had fastened itself on no one living object, but on an abstraction, a thing of his own mind, *the truth*. . . . . Christ and God, the objects of his most earnest love, were viewless and ideal here, and would become realities only when death had transferred him to the future." This seems to us characteristic of Mr. Martineau, as he appears in his writings; but not of St. Paul. God and Christ can hardly at this hour be to him, in his glorified estate, more dear and awful realities than at the time when he was writing his Epistles; and it is the warmth of

the emotions, which bound him directly to them as living beings in whose presence he stood, that gives to his words now their peculiar glow and power. To him the two worlds were united in one. If he could not behold the spirit of God, neither could he behold the spirit of his daily companion; but his intensest longings and affections found utterance in prayer, and by prayer he was brought, not into an ideal, but a real, personal relation to God. These walls of flesh seemed dissolved, so that spirit might really commune with spirit. Now this lowly faith, through which the soul is brought nigh unto God, pouring out its fervid petitions, and feeling in its own renovated powers answering returns from his infinite love, so that prayer is not merely a soliloquy in the presence of the Most High, but communing with him, — this lowly, but quickening faith, binding us to God, is what we do not often find in the volume before us, and its partial absence will account for nearly all the deficiencies in the sermons.

The sermon, for example, which is called "The Shadow of Death," is full of just and beautiful thoughts; but it does not come up to our idea of what it should be. It seems to make heaven far off and unreal.

"We look at earth," it says, "as comprising *all* the good which we have ever experienced; we look at heaven as repeating *some*. And though in words we may be assured of the superior intensity of the latter, in thought we can but dwell on it as it has been felt." — p. 43.

"It is not in ordinary human nature to prefer the fragmentary happiness of heaven, as alone it can appear before our thoughts, to the complete and well-known satisfactions of this life in its peaceful attitudes." — p. 44.

"And then, too, the domesticities of life! O God! they would be too much for our religion, were they not themselves in pure hearts a very form of that religion. If we could all go together, there would be nothing in it; but that separate dropping off, — that departing one by one, — that drift from our anchorage alone, — that thrust into a widowed heaven, — who can deny it to be a lonesome thing? It is mere ignorance of the human mind to expect the love of God to overpower all this." — p. 46.

And yet, in thousands of cases, the love of God has overpowered it all. The soul, when most blessed in its earthly affections, has, with a keen sensation of joy, been lifted up to his eternal presence. Heaven is not, to the Christian, made up merely of fragments from our earthly happiness.

What devout and loving spirit, however blessed here, does not seek a closer and dearer sympathy? What earthly affection can satisfy us, so that we yearn for nothing more? Who, when his spiritual desires have once been quickened, and he has known the world as it is, does not, in his loftier musings, rise to the contemplation of a better condition of things, and earnestly long to realize it in his own experience? Who, when once he has cherished these loftier hopes, would not feel a chill running through his whole frame, if it were announced to him that he and his friends should remain here as they now are for ever? Not only the infinite aspirations which rise to God would seek a more perfect union with him as their only rightful consummation, but our social affections would gladly transfer us and those whom we most love to a purer world, and our moral feelings, struggling as in a perpetual warfare here with outward temptations and inward passions, yearn for the final triumph and that higher organization within and without, through which they may attain to perfect peace.

To more heavenly natures, says Mr. Martineau, in another and far nobler discourse, — "The Sorrow with Downward Look," —

"We attribute a perfect moral beauty, — a godlike symmetry of goodness, — which fills us with reverence, trust, affection, which draws from us the sigh of hope, and refreshes us in the weariness of our harsher life. . . . . This entire coalescence of the order of goodness and the order of desire, this instant and spontaneous adaptation of the will to the conscience through every stage of moral progression, distinguishes our notion of *saintly* excellence, and furnishes our clearest image of a higher world." — pp. **30**, **31**.

Again, in yet another discourse, he says, —

"In proportion as our nature rises in its nobleness, does it realize its immortality. As it retires from animal grossness, ... as it opens forth into its true intellectual and moral glory, do its doubts disperse, its affections aspire; the veil is uplifted from the future, the darkness breaks away, and the spirit walks in dignity within the paradise of God's eternity." — pp. 67, 68.

And to those who have attained to this lofty experience must it be "a lonesome thing" to "drift from their anchorage here," to join the society of the blessed above, and be united, as they never can be here, with the merciful Father

of all? As to leaving friends, — in those advanced stages of thought and affection, a few years are but as a point; and who can say that death shall make even a temporary separation between us and them?

We have mentioned what we consider the principal defect in the volume. There is another which in a measure runs through it, though it is but once or twice made prominent.

"That clear and single eye," — we quote from a sermon on "The Single and Evil Eye," — "filling the soul with light; — what is it but the open thought and conscience by which the truth of heaven streams in? And does not Jesus appeal to this as our only rescue from utter darkness and spiritual eclipse? If so, then men can see for themselves in things divine. They are not required to take on trust a rule of life or faith, in which they would discern no authority and feel no confidence, were it not for the seal it professes to carry, and the affidavit with which it is superscribed. A system, indeed, befriended on the mere strength of its letters of recommendation, misses every thing divine..... If Christ alone had personal and first-hand discernment of the truth and authority of Christianity, and all other men have to take it solely on his word, then Christianity ceases to be a religion..... It is as if God had sent one solitary being, gifted with eyesight, into a world of the blind, to teach them to act *as though they could see.*" — pp. 291, 292.

If all that is meant by this be, that without moral and religious sensibilities in our constitution no religion could have authority with us, we assent to it at once. But if it mean, as we suppose it does, that no revelation from heaven can have such authority with us that we are bound to take it as truth simply on account of the source from which it comes, the position is one wholly at variance with our practice in respect to every other kind of truth. No child could live a day, if it received nothing simply because the parent says it. No ship could cross the sea, even were it commanded by a Bowditch, if those who have charge of it should receive nothing simply because they find it so laid down in works of established authority. Our knowledge of countries which we have not visited is borrowed entirely from others, and we take it on their authority. All that we ask is, that they should be men of veracity, who have had the opportunity of knowing the truth of what they say. Now as God, on the authority of the parent, teaches the child many things before he is able to learn them of himself; as, on the authority of others, he

teaches mariners things essential to their calling, which they could not learn of themselves; as, on the authority of others, he every day teaches all of us, in matters of historical or geographical interest, truths which we could never learn of ourselves, — why may he not also, on the authority of others, teach us, in matters pertaining to our future existence, truths which we of ourselves could never learn? There certainly can be no philosophical objection to this. It must, like any other asserted fact, be received or rejected simply according to the evidence by which it is supported.

"That clear and single eye," says Mr. Martineau, "*filling the soul with light.*" But, surely, it is not the *eye* that fills the soul with light. That is but the medium through which the sensation of light reaches the mind. The light itself comes from abroad, and is reflected, not only from the sun, but from every object around. But more than this. The eye may be darkened, and, instead of seeing for itself, must trust entirely to the guidance of others; or, if it would be healed of its blindness, it must go to one skilled in such things, and, trusting to his authority, without seeing the remedies, submit itself to such treatment as he may prescribe. Now this was the condition in which Jesus found the conscience of the world. He would restore it to a healthy condition. It was too much darkened to judge for itself of the truths which he taught. But, by receiving them on his authority, and applying them as prescribed by him, it might be restored to a healthy condition, and thus at length be able to know, through its own experience, the divine efficacy of that which had first been received solely on trust. This is the attitude in which most of us stand in relation to Christianity. If, as moral and religious beings, we were perfect, a perfect system of morals would commend itself to us by its own light. But we are not so. We are, some of us more and some less, imperfect and sinful beings. Our eye is darkened. We are not a perfect rule to ourselves; nor are our perceptions of right and wrong so entirely clear, that in every case we can of ourselves judge what is right and what is wrong. We are blinded by habit and the evil customs of the world, and the force of our own appetites and passions. We need, therefore, that a perfect system of moral truth should be held up to us on the authority of one who, we are sure, cannot deceive us; and as by obedience to him we become more perfect, our moral perceptions will

become more distinct, and we shall become more and more a law to ourselves, verifying, as we advance, by our own experience, the perfect law of Christ. During the period of our pupilage and our partial blindness, we must receive many things on trust. Hence Christianity is to be sought and received by us, at first, on the strength of its external authority; but, as we grow up into its life, it commends itself more and more to our regenerated faculties, till, of ourselves, we are able to appreciate its divine beauty and its truth.

But we have dwelt, perhaps, too long on these points. The great excellence of the volume before us consists in the pure and lofty ideal of moral and religious duty which it holds up, and before which every thing else appears trivial and almost contemptible. "The Sorrow with Downward Look," "The Christian Doctrine of Merit," "Looking up and Lifting up," are inferior to no sermons of the kind that we have read. "Great Hopes for Great Souls" is in a very elevated strain, and abounds in passages of remarkable brilliancy. It is well that it should come next after the sermon on "The Shadow of Death," as it lifts us entirely above the rather low view of the subject which is there taken.

"Sometimes, indeed," it says, "the last hour of a human life comes on so gentle a wing, that it seems a fit passage of a soul to God; the feeble pulse which flutters into death, the fading eye whose light seems not to be blotted out, but only to retire within, the fleeting breath that seems to stop, that the spirit may depart in reverent silence, — are like the signs of a contented exchange of worlds, of a mind that has nothing for which to struggle, because it passes to the peace of God." — p. 58.

Then, after mention has been made of doubts awakened by a different aspect of death, we read: —

"But when, by nobler culture, by purer experience, by breathing the air of a higher duty, vitality at length creeps into the soul, the instincts of immortality will wake within us. The word of hope will speak to us a language no longer strange. We shall feel like the captive bird carried acoidentally to its own land, when, hearing for the first time the burst of kindred song from its native woods, it beats instinctively the bars of its cage in yearning for the free air that is thrilled with so sweet a strain." — pp. 61, 62.

"Christian Self-Consciousness" is to us the least inter-

esting discourse in the volume. The elaborate, but rather attenuated and unsatisfactory, discussion of Mr. Carlyle's doctrine of self-consciousness adds little to the force of what is said in relation to the dangers of our modern civilization, the main object of the sermon, which is presented with conciseness and power in these words : —

"We must *go and teach this people.* In proportion as their occupations educate them less, and their circumstances tempt them more, a *direct and purposed culture* must be provided ; — a culture which keeps in view the great primary end of responsible existence ; which looks not at their trade, but at their souls, and brings them, not as apt servants to the mill, but as holy children to their God. Education, in the Christian sense, is truly everlasting: childhood preparing for maturity, maturity for age, and the whole of life for death and heaven." — pp. 102, 103.

"The Seven Sleepers" is the quaint title of a very striking sermon ; a little fanciful, however, both in design and execution. The two sermons on "The Sphere of Silence" are both remarkable productions. The former, on Man's Silence, abounds in useful and important suggestions in regard to "things too low to be spoken of," and "things too high to be spoken of" ; the latter, "The Sphere of God's Silence," enters upon a theme too vast for human language. But though we may not receive them as a part of our religious faith, nor perhaps be able to define them exactly, we should be sorry to lose passages like these : —

"The mighty spirits of our race are as the lyric thoughts of God that drop and breathe from his Almighty solitude ; — transient cords flying forth from the strings, as his solemn hand wanders over the possibilities of beauty. One only finished expression of his mind, one entire symmetric strain, has fallen upon our world. In Christ, we have the overflowing Word, the deep and beautiful soliloquy, of the Most High. . . . . Not more clearly does the worship of the saintly soul, breathing through its window opened to the midnight, betray the secrets of its affections, than the mind of Jesus of Nazareth reveals the perfect thought and inmost love of the All-ruling God." — pp. 348, 349.

"The Christian Time-View" is a discourse such as only Mr. Martineau could write. We know not where to look for a passage of more rhetorical beauty than the following. It seems to us hardly inferior to Mr. Macaulay's noblest paragraphs.

"The difference between the ancient and modern world is this: that in the one the great reality of being was *now;* in the other it is *yet to come.* If you would witness a scene characteristic of the popular life of old, you must go to the amphitheatre of Rome, mingle with its eighty thousand spectators, and watch the eager faces of senators and people: observe how the masters of the world spend the wealth of conquest, and indulge the pride of power: see every wild creature that God has made to dwell from the jungles of India to the mountains of Wales, from the forests of Germany to the deserts of Nubia, brought hither to be hunted down in artificial groves by thousands in an hour: behold the captives of war, noble perhaps and wise in their own land, turned loose, amid yells of insult more terrible for their foreign tongue, to contend with brutal gladiators trained to make death the favorite amusement, and present the most solemn of individual realities as a wholesale public sport: mark the light look with which the multitude, by uplifted finger, demands that the wounded combatant be slain before their eyes: notice the troop of Christian martyrs awaiting, hand in hand, the leap from the tiger's den: and when the day's spectacle is over, and the blood of two thousand victims stains the ring, follow the giddy crowd as it streams from the vomitories into the street, trace its lazy course into the forum, and hear it there scrambling for the bread of private indolence doled out by the purse of public corruption; and see how it suns itself to sleep in the open ways, or crawls into foul dens till morning brings the hope of games and merry blood again; — and you have an idea of the Imperial people, and their passionate living for the moment, which the Gospel found in occupation of the world. And if you would fix in your thought an image of the popular mind of Christendom, I know not that you could do better than go at sunrise with the throng of toiling men to the hill-side where Whitefield or Wesley is about to preach. Hear what a great heart of reality in that hymn that swells upon the morning air, — a prophet's strain upon a people's lips! See the rugged hands of labor, clasped and trembling, wrestling with the Unseen in prayer! Observe the uplifted faces, deep-lined with hardship and with guilt, streaming now with honest tears, and flushed with earnest shame, as the man of God awakes the life within, and tells of him that bare for us the stripe and cross, and offers the holiest spirit to the humblest lot, and tears away the veil of sense from the glad and awful gates of heaven and hell. Go to these people's homes, and observe the decent tastes, the sense of domestic obligations, the care for childhood, the desire of instruction, the neighbourly kindness, the conscientious self-respect; and say, whether the sacred image of duty does not live within those minds: whether

holiness has not taken the place of ***pleasure*** in their idea of life: whether for them, too, the toils of nature are not lightened by some eternal hope, and their burden carried by some angel of love, and the strife of necessity turned into the service of God. The present tyrannizes over their character no more, subdued by a future infinitely great: and hardly though they lie upon the rock of this world, they can live the life of faith; and while the hand plies the tools of earth, keep a spirit open to the skies." — pp. 261 – 263.

After the specimens which we have already given, we need say nothing of the extraordinary brilliancy of these sermons. They abound in passages of rare descriptive power, in keen satire, and terse expressions of wisdom.

"In the shipwreck, where Death seizes the storm as his trumpet, and, with the lightning as his banner, comes streaming down the sky." — p. 135.

"The very child, of too transient stay, may paint on the darkness of our sorrow so fair a vision of loving wonder, of reverent trust, of deep and thoughtful patience, that a divine presence abides with us for ever, as the mild and constant light of faith and hope." — pp. 155, 156.

"To walk beneath the porch is still infinitely less than to kneel before the cross. We do nothing well, till we learn our worth; nothing best, till we forget it. And this will not be, till, besides being built into the real veracious laws of this world, we are also conscious of the inspection of another: till we live, not only fairly among equals, but submissively under the Most High; and while casting the shadow of a good life on the scene below, lie in the light of vaster spheres above." — p. 205.

"Aptitude for business is not power of Reason; and a grandee on the exchange may be a pauper in God's universe." — p. 66.

"They live and die on principles purely mercantile; and the book of life must be a common ledger, if their names are written on its page." — p. 6.

"We seem to have reached an age of soft affections and emasculated conscience, full of pity for pain and disease, of horror at blood and death; but doubting whether any thing is wicked that is not cruel, and reconciling itself even to that on sufficient considerations of advantage." — p. 182.

Men "who, having made up their minds that Christianity is useful in many ways, and of excellent service in managing the weaker portion of mankind, resolve to patronize it. Well; — it is an ancient arrogance, lasting as the vanities of the human heart. The Pharisee, it would appear, belongs to a sect never extinct: he lives immortal upon the earth; and in our day, like

Simon of old, graciously condescends to ask the Lord Jesus to dine!" — p. 166.

With such men life would be "a monster of incongruity; its first volume, a jest-book; its second, a table of interest; and its last, a mixture of the satire and the liturgy." — p. 187.

"Religion is not a didactic thing that words can give, and silence can withhold. It is a spirit; a life; an aspiration; a contagious glory from soul to soul; a spontaneous union with God. Our inward unfaithfulness is sure to extinguish it; our outward policy cannot produce it. To love and to do the Holy Will is the ultimate way, not only to know the truth, but to lead others to know it too." — p. 236.

He who can write in this manner must be a master of our English style, and have at the same time a brilliant, elevated, far-reaching, and vigorous mind. The style, however, though more natural than that of the volume which precedes it, is not well sustained, and is often hard and forced, nor is the thought always consistent with itself. But such flashes of light, such gleams and intervals of clear and holy faith, such moments even as are here revealed of religious elevation and repose, are enough to stamp the volume as an uncommon one, and to mark it out for high uses among men. It has altogether exceeded our expectations, and we rejoice to learn that it has just been republished here. J. H. M.

Art. VIII. — THE MEXICAN WAR.*

The war between the United States and Mexico is the great political and moral fact of our times. There is no other among the movements, or the results, of the present period, be it ever so hopeful, instructive, or alarming, which equals this either in the immediate interest of its character, or in the importance of its possible, if not probable, consequences. The condition of Ireland is suited to attract the regards of the civilized world, — having its causes, as it doubtless has, in political mismanagement and social degradation reacting on each other. The financial distress of England presents a subject for profound meditation, — suggesting, as it does, so

* *Peace with Mexico.* By Albert Gallatin. New York. 8vo. pp. 34.

many thoughts respecting the principles of trade and the laws of production that underlie the intercourse of modern nations. The position of the Roman Catholic Church, evidently aiming at a recovery of its ancient power, on the one side, by accommodating its domestic policy to the liberal tendencies of the age, and, on the other side, as manifestly bent on establishing its ecclesiastical pretensions to the overthrow of Protestantism in Great Britain and America, offers a spectacle of the deepest interest to the religious or philosophical observer. And the relaxation in the East of those customs which have for ages excluded Christianity from China, and the Mohammedan countries of the Asiatic and African continents, cannot but fill the Christian heart with eager expectation. Still there is no point in the passage of events over the present age which will so signalize it in future times as the war which is now waged between our country and the republic of Mexico, — none to which the historian of a century hence will so confidently refer as the great moral and political fact of the age.

Our present interest in the subject arises out of its moral significance. On account of its relations to the right and the good, and its connection with the character of the people, we believe it may be examined from a point of view above all merely political or party questions. It has been most unhappily admitted or assumed on all sides, that the war cannot be discussed without committing one's self to the support of some one or other of the parties which divide the country. This is a mistake, a palpable and gross mistake. We doubt that we shall say any thing in this article to which men of all parties will not give their assent. At least, we mean to take those positions which shall place us far above the strifes of the partisan orator or the political leader. There is a ground on which all can stand, and from which, looking down upon facts and principles, all must come to the same result.

We begin, then, by saying, what no one will deny, that war is an evil. No one will deny this, for it never has been denied. All persons acknowledge that war is an evil; a necessary evil, some say, inevitable in the present state of the world; a useful evil, others maintain, yielding beneficial results that outweigh its pernicious consequences; but still an evil, — as truly an evil as a pestilence or a conflagration. No one would think of including war among the blessings for

which he would give thanks. The man who should stand up in public and thank God for the war which is devastating Mexico would be accounted more fit for a lunatic asylum than for a pulpit. War is an evil, and every body knows it.

But, further, war is a tremendous evil. It produces and scatters abroad all other evils. It is the real Pandora's box of society. Let loose the energies of war upon a land, and you let loose the worst passions of the human heart and the worst miseries of human experience. War is so great an evil, that it can be justified on principles of morality or of sound policy only in extreme cases, — the most extreme cases. There is not a man from Maine to the mouth of the Mississippi who will hesitate to acknowledge this. State the principle in this form to the military heroes of the world, to Scott, to Wellington, to Soult, and they will assent to it instantly. It must be an extreme case, that shall justify war on principles of morality or of sound policy.

We do not need to press this argument further. We do not ask our readers to adopt the conclusion, that *all* war is unjustifiable. This may be our private opinion, but we are not anxious to establish a theory of non-resistance, because we are persuaded that short of this point it can be made clear, that the war in which we are now engaged should unite the hearts and efforts of the whole people in bringing about its termination.

Does any one, then, pretend that *this* is an extreme case, — that the United States entered into the present war because things had come to extremity? Whatever view may be taken of the circumstances in which it had its origin, or of the motives of those by whom it was encouraged, no one will presume to say, that, on our part at least, there was an actual necessity for the war. Whether it began with an act of aggression on our side or on the side of Mexico, whether they who advocated its commencement hoped to extend the domain of slavery or to enlarge "the area of freedom," whether Mexico owed us an apology or owed us money or owed us both, or whether she had threatened or had committed a trespass on what we considered as our soil and she claimed as hers, no one will affirm that it was one of those extreme cases in which the alternative is war or a worse evil, — a case, for instance, like that presented in our Revolution, as that is usually viewed. An extreme case! Why,

suppose that Mexico, poor, feeble, distracted by internal divisions, owed us some little money which she refused or was unable to pay, and that she had actually sent a few soldiers across a line which we were pleased to adopt as the boundary of our republic, and that she had treated with indignity some of our official agents, does all this constitute one of those exigencies in a nation's affairs which compel her to take up arms? All this, — which did not affect the prosperity of the land, nor endanger its liberty in the least, nor disturb the comfort of one out of ten thousand of its citizens, nor indeed was *known* by one in a thousand except as it was brought to notice in the annual messages of the President! No; there was nothing extreme about it. The very supposition is ludicrous. And however honestly some minds, lost in the mists of diplomatic correspondence or executive responsibleness, may have believed that there was no escape from a war, let those same minds now calmly review the circumstances out of which grew the first fatal conflict, and they must confess that there was no *need* of a war, — that an extreme case did not exist.

But the war has been commenced, and been carried on with great determination on both sides. And now it is said, that, however much we may condemn or regret its existence, since it does exist, it must be maintained till its objects are secured. Such a conclusion, however, will not bear the test of morality or of sound policy. We need not pause to inquire what are the objects of the war, though this is an important and pregnant question; for it is sufficient to repeat, that it did not grow out of circumstances creating a moral or political necessity. The same principle, then, which we have already laid down in regard to entering upon a war, holds good in regard to continuing it. That which ought not to be begun, unless an extreme case can be made out, should not be continued, unless the strongest reasons can be presented in justification of its continuance. An evil never becomes less by growth. If it be wrong to open a channel for the passage of a stream, it is wrong to keep that channel open when the stream is every day wearing it deeper and wider. If it be wrong to plant the Upas tree, it is wrong not to cut down the sapling. Now the evils of war increase with its continuance, and increase both with an uninterrupted augmentation and at a fearful rate. Unless, therefore, it can be shown that its continuance involves an extreme case of na-

tional safety, it ought most certainly to be abandoned. The obligation to bring it to a close may even be said to be greater than was the obligation to avoid its commencement; and to bring it to a close, not by carrying it on, but by putting an end to hostile proceedings, — not by "conquering a peace," but by making peace, in the most effectual manner in which a peace can be made, namely, by ceasing to make war. Now will any one pretend that the war with Mexico, at its present stage, involves a case of the kind to which we have alluded? Is there no alternative but the prosecution of this war, or ruin? Is the alternative to which *we* are exposed, war, or subjugation? war, or the annihilation of our commercial prosperity? war, or a paralysis of the national industry? war, or some other tremendous and still greater evil? No. Not a man in the nation will assert that any such alternative lies before us. Be the objects, then, for which the war is prosecuted what they may, they cannot justify its continuance.

By a very simple, and we believe an unanswerable, course of remark, we thus arrive at the conclusion, that the war ought to be brought to a close at once, and by pacific measures. Every thoughtful, honest, Christian man must say so, when he disabuses his mind of the influence which party associations or a conventional standard of morality may, perhaps unconsciously to himself, exert upon it. So strong, however, are the habits of false judgment by which men allow themselves to be controlled, that the simplest truth often needs reiteration and expansion, to give it effect. Multitudes throughout the country, who would find it difficult to withhold their assent from what we have now said, no sooner turn over the page than they relapse into the delusion, that war, though it has its evils, is an indispensable part of a nation's history, needful to the perfection of its character or the culmination of its glory. After every battle that has been fought, from General Taylor's first "glorious success" to General Scott's last "unparalleled achievement," all the little Peterkins in the land might ask, — "What good came of it?" and of all the old Caspars throughout the twenty-nine States, and of more than half the young Caspars, too, the ballad would run true: —

> "'Why, that I cannot tell,' said he,
> 'But 't was a famous victory.'"

It is through this hereditary delusion that the present war ob-

tains its chief hold upon the sympathies of the people, even against their better convictions; and it is only by continual affirmation of the truth, that the evil spirit of judgment by which they are possessed can be effectually exorcised. We wish, therefore, without the hope of saying any thing new, to present some of those objections to war in general, that warrant the terms of condemnation in which we have spoken of it, and that lie with all their force against this particular war, unless it can be shown to belong to the excepted class of extreme cases.

First, then, we maintain that war is unnatural. We do not mean that there are no elements in human nature, no tendencies or passions, that may be brought to delight in the excitement or the carnage of the battle-field. There are such elements, tendencies, passions, just as there are appetites which incline man to sensual indulgence, and, if gratified without restraint, would make of him a brute. But we should not *describe* man by those appetites. We do not say it is *natural* for him to make himself a beast. Neither is it natural for him to kill his fellow-men, to make himself either a fighting-machine which others direct, or a military hero whom his own savage selfishness impels. War is not the natural state of human society. We might with as much justice affirm that domestic life is artificial, that solitude is man's natural condition. All the higher principles of our nature disown war and protest against it, — all that assimilates us to God, all that elevates us above the brute, all that marks or secures our immortality. Think of a field of battle, — think of the deadly aim, the mortal stab, the fierce onset, the desperate encounter, the shouts of the victors, the shrieks of the dying, the torrents of blood, the infuriate abnegation of humanity, which mark that spot, — will any say, — the boldest or the bravest of those who are mixed in the strife, will they say, that it is natural to man to wear the character which he there presents? Much nearer the truth was the terrible satire which a writer describing one of the late battles unintentionally uttered, when, as if earth afforded no fit terms in which to commend the courage of the American troops, he said that "they fought like demons." Yes, — like demons, even more than like brute beasts; for to the cruelty of the animal is added the intelligence, if not, for the time, the malignity, of the demon. The soldier, *as a soldier*, denies and discards his humanity. He despises or ignores his own nature.

Yet men in whom we admire many qualities of both heart and mind take up the profession of arms. Undoubtedly; because the mind turns away, instinctively, from that which forms the peculiarity, the essential distinction, of the military profession, and contemplates only the incidental circumstances that are thought to recommend it. That which distinguishes the military profession, and which makes it important in the eyes of rulers and statesmen, is, that it trains men to fight. Take this away, and you destroy the value of the soldier in a moment. He is worth nothing to the government which employs or feeds him, except as he is capable, or is supposed to be capable, of fighting. And the officers of an army, from the lowest to the highest in rank, are of no value unless they are presumed to be able to conduct the soldiers to battle. Let it be understood that the standing armies of England, France, Russia, or any other power in the Old World, were composed of men who were not prepared to fight, and they would be disbanded in a day. England would not pay a shilling for the support of all her regiments, if she did not regard them as fighting men. What are all the drilling and all the discipline for, but to fit them for the evolutions and the slaughter of the battle-field? This, however, is an unpleasant idea, one that fills the mind with disgust, rather than offers any allurement, and therefore men dismiss it from their attention, and try to find some fascination in the *circumstances* of a soldier's life, — in the authority and show, on the one side, and the comfort of a public maintenance on the other, and the presumed relation of the military arm, as it is called, to the government or the country, independently of its aptitude for fighting, — a relation, as we have seen, which does not and cannot exist.

Now with reference to this attraction which a military life has for many persons, we allege, as the second objection to war, that the military profession which it sustains — yes, which war, and war alone, sustains — is vulgar. The force of this objection may be felt by those who fall into the common error of regarding the soldier's position and bearing with a feeling akin to envy, as if they placed him somewhat above his fellow-citizens; and to such persons it is addressed. From whatever point of view we look at the military profession, it is, to our eyes, marked by vulgarity. To fight, if it be not demoniacal or brutal, is, at the best that can be said of it, vulgar. There is nothing noble or generous, nothing which denotes high birth or refined manners, nothing that indicates or

confers superiority of character, in killing a man. It is mean, base work. Homicide at the public command can be but little more praiseworthy than homicide to gratify private revenge. A great number of murders committed at once are not more honorable than the same number of murders committed in detail. But let us pass from the scene of blood to the usual habits of the military profession. Regarded, not through the false light under which the world views it, but through the medium of a correct judgment, these are eminently vulgar, whether we consider them in connection with the officer or the private soldier. The one is a slave, the other a despot; and there is only one thing more unmanly, more inconsistent with true dignity of character, than to put one's self a passive instrument into the hands of another, and that is, to accept such submission. The military standard of excellence is low, lower than that of the independent day-laborer. The ambition of the officer is a mean ambition, and the motive which induces the private to surrender his self-guidance for clothing and food enough to keep him in good condition is that which effaces the distinction between an intellectual and moral being and a domestic animal. What can be more unworthy of a high-minded man, whether to enforce or to endure, than a discipline maintained by the lash and the brand? The military profession is vulgar, and it will be so considered when civilization and refinement are really understood.

But war does not even afford a compensation for the debasement of human character and human nature which we ascribe to it; for, in the third place, it is unprofitable. To the nation which encounters defeat, and is obliged to accept such terms as an enemy may impose, it is, of course, ruinously unprofitable. But the truth is, that most often both of the contending parties come out of the conflict defeated, both impoverished, weakened, and laden with consequences that will be felt by future generations. Where a different termination occurs, and one of the countries which have been engaged in the competition for injury humbles its adversary, and emerges from what is called a successful war, has it been a gainer or a loser? A child can answer that question. Put down the gain at the highest estimate possible, — increase of territory, contributions to the public treasury, freedom from vexatious demands or unjust annoyance, reputation for military skill and prowess, and an abundant self-satisfaction; on the other side we must set down the lives of men slain in bat-

tle, or destroyed by the diseases to which their employment exposed them, — the health and labor of those who are incapacitated, by wounds or broken constitutions, for any useful service, — the widows whose husbands have perished, — the fatherless children, — the households bereft of those who, in their young or ripe manhood, might have been the stay of the aged and the feeble, — the derangement, greater or less, often almost universal, of the business of the country, — the effect upon the various employments which it sustains, — the immense sums that have been expended, not as capital to yield a return, but virtually sunk, in carrying on the war, — the influence of a state of warfare on the sentiments and moral judgments of the people, — the deterioration of morals, arising from this cause, and from the dispersion through the land of a large body of men returning from the restraints and the vices of the camp; set all this down against the gain of the war, and let any one say which is the larger result. Never, except in one of those extreme cases when a nation's independence is in peril, and perhaps not even then, does what is gained in the most successful war compensate for the political, financial, and moral evils which such a war is sure to beget. Let human suffering, human sorrow, and human character be properly estimated, and no tribute that a nation could extort from its conquered foe, or soil that it could annex to its territory, or glory that it could add to its name, would be regarded as an equivalent for the evils, or even deserve to be mentioned in deduction of the evils, which it must have incurred. War is unprofitable, for it seldom secures the object for which it is professedly undertaken, and, except in the rarest instances, involves a cost far beyond the worth of that object.

To add one other reason for discountenancing war, but one that should be decisive with those who accept the religion of Jesus, it is unchristian. If any of our readers ask whether we mean that a Christian cannot be a soldier, or that no real Christians can be found in an army, we hardly need answer, No; just as if a similar question had been asked in reference to the slave-trade in the last century, or to the sale of intoxicating drinks a few years ago, the reply would have been in the negative. Christianity is but imperfectly understood by many good men. If the advocate or apologist for war demand an exhibition of texts in which it is condemned by the Christian religion, we maintain that we have a much more conclusive evidence in the spirit and purpose of the Gospel and

the character of Christ. Who entertains a doubt that Christianity breathes a pacific spirit, or that the design of the Gospel is such an amelioration of human character as shall produce universal peace? Or who does not hesitate, nay, who does not find it impossible, to associate Jesus with scenes of strife and bloodshed? This is sometimes treated as an unfair test; but we hold it to be both pertinent and decisive. We can imagine Jesus, without doing violence to our reverence for his character, in scenes of want or of vice, administering relief and reproving sin; we can imagine him in scenes of traffic or in schools of education, sanctioning, by his presence, the prosecution of an honest business, or encouraging the discipline of the intellectual powers. But we cannot, by any effort of the imagination, represent him to ourselves as leading men to battle or giving his countenance to the shock of arms. We cannot, by any process of combination, connect the qualities of a military chieftain with Jesus Christ. Yet we are taught to be like him, — to seek the nearest possible resemblance to him, — to imbibe his spirit, — to wear his image, — to express his character. Words could not more plainly declare that the soldier and the Christian, when construed in their true sense, are terms that stand in opposition to each other. Whether we examine the religion which Christ came to establish in the world, as it appears in his teaching, in his example, or in the writings and lives of his apostles, we can arrive at only one conclusion, that Christianity has no sympathies nor promises — we might almost say, no prayers — for those who seek to distress and kill, instead of forgiving, their enemies. It is true, indeed, that our Lord did not make war a distinct subject of instruction; but he did what he knew would be more effectual, — he left an influence on earth that is directly and irreconcilably hostile to the tempers and reasonings on which war rests for its support. As Christianity shall prevail, it must supersede alike brute force and military skill. As it shall penetrate the institutions of society and the action of governments, it must put an end to the policy which accepts war as a method of gaining redress of injuries. And when it shall become universal, both as a profession and an influence, it will put an end not only to war, but to all the preparations for war. Every one believes this. How, then, can we escape from the conclusion, that war is unchristian? Christianity does in effect reject and condemn it on every page of its own records; and they

who would follow Christ, taking up his cross, must bear their testimony, in speech and in act, by what they say and by what they do or refrain from doing, against a custom which finds no attribute in the religion or character of Jesus that can lend it support.

We might add much more in justification of our belief, that we ought in every way to discountenance war, whether as an institution, or as an occasional employment of men's physical and mental energies. Such views, we know, find little favor, even with the more thoughtful and candid part of the community, especially when a country is involved in war; for then, as we have already said, it seems to be considered the duty of a good citizen to give whatever aid he can in prosecuting the war till his country's rights are secured. We might linger over this expression, and show how little the *rights* of a country often have to do with the continuance of a war, into which it may have been led by a mistaken sense of what was due to its honor. Let the flame of war be kindled, and right is apt to be forgotten, — and honor too. Success is now the word in men's mouths, and conquest the end sought. So easily is the judgment depraved under the fearful temptation of an actual war! Hostilities once commenced, the original matters in dispute are scarcely kept in mind. We may not dwell on this point, however, but turn from it to explain the moral phenomenon, as it may well be termed, of support given to a war by persons who disapproved of its commencement. There are two ways of accounting for such inconsistency. First, the feelings become interested in the progress of the war, precisely as in the progress of a story which we read. As the months bring reports of successive movements, and the public journals are filled with details of battles or the conjectures of those at a distance, we gradually come to take an interest in what is passing on the scene of strife. Our curiosity is awakened, expectation and calculation are called into exercise, and we insensibly lose our moral estimation of the war in the excitement which it gives to the mind. At this period, the patriotic sentiment begins to manifest itself, — a sentiment having its foundation in our nature, but often mistaking its proper objects. The war becomes now a matter in regard to which we feel some solicitude, on account of the relation which our countrymen and our national reputation and national character bear to it. If our troops are defeated, we begin to have some feelings of

mortification and resentment. If they prevail, we experience emotions of satisfaction and triumph. By this simple process do we, before we know it, become involved in the interest of actual participants in the danger and the sin; our moral perceptions are clouded; and men, who, a short time ago, sat in stern judgment on the proceedings of their rulers, are now almost ready to adopt that detestable maxim, subversive, at least in its obvious sense, of all justice, honor, and humanity, — "Our country, right or wrong."

Add to this another influence which acts strongly on most minds. There must be displayed, in the conduct of armies and the successful issue of a battle, qualities suited to inspire confidence and admiration. There must be coolness, bravery, judgment, address, and a general power of seizing on circumstances and turning them to advantage. We do not wonder at the applause lavished on military prowess. As long as men allow themselves to be blinded by force of character, or dazzled by mere success, they will be ready to swell the praises of any one who achieves a victory on the field of battle, or to gaze with eager eyes on the career of one who is carrying conquest and desolation over an enemy's soil. We are tempted to bestow our admiration, in such a case, on precisely the same ground on which we are compelled to admire the resolution and impious audacity of Milton's Satan. We observe force, — force of will, of purpose, of perseverance, — and force commands, and must command, respect. They who would turn contemptuously from the mere physical force of the savage will abase themselves before the force of character which is shown by a military hero. It is a natural tendency of man; and when with it is joined the disposition to take success as a measure of right, which is so common, the sad consequence of their union is, that the moral sense is confused, the conscience is bewildered, and men find themselves sustaining and applauding what, a little time before, they were loud in condemning. The popular delusions respecting the character of war then begin to mislead the mind, and the notion is entertained, that the honor of the country depends upon humbling the *enemy*, as the nation with which we have sought or accepted a bloody quarrel is styled, according to a use of language which Christianity never did, and never will, own; and with it creeps into the mind the appreciation of things which calls that glorious, on which God and angels look down with unmingled displeasure. Then follows the sacrifice of all

philanthropic sentiment on the altar of a spurious patriotism; and it is thought right to imprecate and to bring upon our fellow-men calamities, the very mention of which in connection with our own citizens makes us shudder, — to rejoice at the distress and desolation which we should regard as an occasion of the deepest mourning, if they were transferred to our own land, — as if there were no permanent moral qualities, but the character of an action depended on its domestic or foreign origin. By these steps, how easily does one pass from an honest condemnation of a war to a virtual or open defence of it! True, there is a terrible demoralization going on meanwhile, and the individual is unconsciously losing his hold on rectitude of principle and parting with his own integrity. But the very causes which produce such injury to the character prevent his perceiving it. He knows not how great a misfortune is his sympathy with the state of feeling about him.

And this is the most lamentable of all the consequences of a war, — the people are demoralized without knowing it. Their standard of character sinks, the moral tone of their discourse becomes less firm and true, their principles grow lax and conventional. The effect is but the more deplorable, that it is insidious. Men slide off from the position which they once held, and with an accelerated speed tend to that plane of morality on which the opinions and practices of the world attempt to meet the commandments of God; not, however, by changing their own character so as to harmonize with those commandments, but by interpreting the revelations of duty which are given through conscience and through Christ according to the maxims of expediency or the license of equivocation and compromise. This is the most disastrous blight which war can cast upon a land, — a blight upon the moral perceptions and sensibilities of a people, — worse than defeat in arms, worse than commercial embarrassment, worse than poverty, worse even than political servitude; for a nation would better remain faithful to God, though it lose its civil liberties, than retain its political institutions at the expense of its loyalty to the divine principle of rectitude. Better lose any thing than lose character. It is as true of a nation as of an individual. Power, prosperity, liberty, is nothing without virtue. When, therefore, we see a country deteriorating in character beneath the infliction of war, we are justified in saying that the greatest curse which even this demon evil could shed upon it has taken effect.

The smitten people lie in shame,
The contrast of their former name;
The poison through their veins has spread,
The land is filled with living dead.

It is such a demoralizing influence which is already disclosing itself in connection with the Mexican war. Our people have imbibed the poison, even as the traveller inhales the fatal miasma, without knowing it. A deterioration of character is going on among us. It may seem to relate only to this one subject; but can the convictions and sentiments of a people become depraved on one point, and the corruption not affect the whole character? If men learn to evade the eternal laws of duty in one instance, they have no security against similar treachery in any other case, when a sufficient temptation shall arise. Let national vanity or national ambition urge them to the prosecution of a war which they once considered a crime against freedom and justice, against man and God, and they will soon throw justice and piety to the winds, and take no guide but their own passions. The depravation of public sentiment on this subject, therefore, we regard as the most grievous of all the effects which the present war has brought upon the country. The expenditure of millions, never to be recovered, is as nothing. The loss of thousands of lives and the grief of untold households are comparatively light calamities. Even the new impulse which has been given to that determination, compounded of fanaticism and interest, which upholds the institution of slavery, we account a much less evil than the wide-spread infection which has tainted the moral judgment of the people respecting the wickedness of war.

It seems to us but voluntary blindness to deny this deterioration of public sentiment. We hear it in every day's conversation. We read it in almost every political journal. Nay, the religious papers of the land give in to that same pernicious and unpardonable exultation at the brilliant achievements of our troops, as they are called, and the unparalleled skill and bravery of our generals, which is the frequent burden of the secular press. Who does not see that the language of the country has greatly changed within the last six months? With an earnest profession of abhorrence of the war is now joined an admiration of the manner in which it has been conducted, that dilutes the meaning, and must destroy the effect, of that profession of abhorrence. Why!

the war is not a whit less open to objection now, while our flag floats upon the legislative halls of the unhappy country which we have overrun, than it was when the sword was first drawn on the banks of the Rio Grande. The judgment which must be passed upon it, as a war that was not required by the exigency of the case, is not affected by the fact that our troops have at every step fought their way through resistance to conquest, without meeting with a single defeat. The merits of such a warfare do not depend on the success of either of the parties. Yet the tone of remark, or of feeling rather, which is betrayed in almost every quarter, discovers a secret delight, a pride, a gratification at least, which a correct moral taste would at once disown. We speak not now of those who early favored the war, more than of those who were its strenuous opposers. The change which has come over the latter is even more remarkable and more sad, — we will not say, more culpable, for that would be to question the political sincerity of one or the other party, — but it is more worthy of notice, and must cause a deeper feeling of anxiety, than the maintenance of their ground by those who advocated the commencement of hostilities. "It would seem," says Mr. Gallatin, "as if the splendid and almost romantic successes of the American arms had, for a while, made the people deaf to any other consideration than an enthusiastic and exclusive love of military glory." We hope this is too strong an expression of the fact; and yet this very sentence shows that the writer himself is not insensible to the wild charm of martial enterprise. Take the country through, there certainly is not that deep and spontaneous disapproval of war in itself considered, which, we believe, prevailed five years, or two years, since. The cause of peace, of Christian and universal peace, has lost ground which it may be long before it will recover.

But, further, a progressive change of sentiment on the general subject of war is not the only sign of moral deterioration. We have become familiar with the cruelties and vices of warfare. Tales of bloodshed, which once made our ears to tingle, we can now hear without emotion. The sickening and horrible details of the battle-ground can now be read without making us sick at heart or striking us with horror. The language in which the atrocities that attend the bombardment or capture of cities, or the collision of forces in the mingled fight, have been described, is enough to thrill

the soul with pity and terror ; yet, if noticed, it is but faintly and rarely censured. The splendor of the achievement and the success of the enterprise confuse the moral discernment, and we are growing familiar with bloodshed and rapine, as those who feast their imaginations on the licentious literature of France or England learn to think lightly of violations of decency in speech or act. The "general tendency" of the war is "to make man hate man, to awaken his worst passions, to accustom him to the taste of blood."* We are feeling the effects here in New England, two thousand miles from the scene of strife, feeling it in the social atmosphere which we breathe, feeling it in our homes. Our children are babbling the language of the "bloody field." Our purity, our gentleness, our refinement, are wearing away beneath the continual attrition of "news from Mexico." Our political morality is sinking, when it should be rising. We are unjust to those who hold conscience to be a higher law than either interest or party. We are transmitting to another generation unsound principles and an impure example.

Therefore do we affirm that this war should be brought to a close. Whatever we may gain by it, — be it the whole of Mexico as a subjugated province or as one in the sisterhood of our United States, or be it the quiet possession of Texas, with the command of hundreds of miles of the Pacific coast, — it cannot be a compensation for what we shall lose, and are every day losing, of sound judgment, moral principle, Christian sensibility and national character. The war ought to cease. It had no sufficient justification at its commencement ; it can have none now. And its termination must be effected through the decision of the religious people of the land. The politicians of America and the warriors of Europe may see in it a series of brilliant events which reflect glory on our name, but the consistent Christian will see in it only occasion for shame and grief. There is no glory in it or about it. They who have chosen to enter its scenes of carnage must answer as they can, not to their country, but to their Saviour and their God ; and they who have been sent thither to slay or be slain, as the fortunes of war might determine, and who have obeyed an authority which they considered it dishonorable to contradict, deserve our pity for the fate into which they have been driven. It remains for the

* *Peace with Mexico*, p. 27.

Christian people of this land, rising above all considerations of party politics or fictitious patriotism, to demand a cessation of hostilities. We admire the title of Mr. Gallatin's pamphlet, — "Peace with Mexico." And because this is its title, and this its object, we have made our present article to stand in connection with it. With the political and historical argument, which fills the greater number of its pages, we have no concern. To the questions on which the administration and its opponents are at issue, in regard to the origin of the war, we have made no reference, not only because the discussion to which they would tempt us might be foreign from the purposes of our journal, but because we hope that persons entertaining different views on these points may be brought to concur upon what is now the question of pressing interest, — whether the war shall continue. Let "the friends of peace," let the friends of humanity, of civilization, of religion, the friends of their country who care more for its character than for its extent, "unite, boldly express their opinions, and use their utmost endeavours in promoting an immediate termination of the war." "At present, the only object is peace, immediate peace." *

For any one, who has no personal knowledge of the perplexities of public men, to suggest what particular course should be taken for bringing the war to a close, may be useless or impertinent. But the one right course seems to us so plain and so effectual, that we cannot but repeat the indication of it which has been given by others. It is described in a single line. *We must retrace our steps.* In the language of the memorial to Congress, which has probably been presented to most of our readers for signature, we must "withdraw our troops from the territory of Mexico, restore to her possession the provinces which we now occupy, offer the amplest atonement in our power for all wrongs which may have been inflicted on her, and, if necessary, appoint commissioners empowered to adjust questions in dispute between these two sister republics." There is nothing in these terms to which the most earnest supporter of the war ought to object. If our purpose was to humble or crush Mexico, have we not done it? If our purpose was to show the world that we could resent an insult, or that we could defend our rights at the point of the sword, have we not done it? Have we

* *Peace with Mexico*, p. 33.

not proved that our troops are brave, as the world calls bravery, and our generals equal in military resource to the marshals of the Old World? If our purpose was to heal our wounded honor, so far as the infliction of disgrace and suffering on our adversary can promote that end, the wound will never bleed again. Our troops can now safely and honorably return to their own country; — safely, for an army of ten thousand men can surely march without danger over that road now open to its passage along which a less number fought their way against a far superior force; and honorably, because no one can impute our retreat to cowardice or any other than a generous motive.* The provinces which have been wrested from Mexico may be restored to her without any imputation on our character for courage or consistency; for what do we want of them? They can do us no good, and may make us much trouble. And having shown her that she was unable to protect them against the determination of our soldiers, we may now convince her and the world that neither ambition nor avarice prompted us to seek their acquisition. We have certainly inflicted some wrongs upon her, for there never was a war in which both parties were not guilty of injustice and cruelty. Let us repair *our* wrongs, and set an example which she may be glad to follow. The course which we ought to pursue is plain, and it will be effectual. It must be effectual. Let it be tried promptly and sincerely. Let the President and his cabinet concur with Congress in adopting it. And that they may be assured of the approbation of the people, at least of the moral and religious and Christian portion of the people, let memorials go up to Congress from every place, importuning them to put an end to the war. Let the whole Christian population of the land appear, through the expression of their solemn will, at the doors of the national legislature, and, with a voice whose calm strength shall cause its echoes to reverberate from wall to wall of the capitol, declare that the war must cease, — *the war must cease.*

And when that will shall have been obeyed, — and, under such circumstances, it would be obeyed, — and this war shall

* "Though so dearly purchased, the astonishing successes of the American arms have at least put it in the power of the United States to grant any terms of peace without incurring the imputation of being actuated by any but the most elevated motives. It would seem that the most proud and vain must be satiated with glory, and that the most reckless and bellicose should be sufficiently glutted with human gore."—*Peace with Mexico*, p. 30.

have been brought to a close, we may again have hope for humanity and the Gospel. By such an example we might do much to repair the damage we have inflicted on the cause of righteousness and peace. In that moral providence of God which permits man to retrieve his own errors, and turn even his sins into means of good for himself and for others, we may more than repair the injury we have done. We may show how noble is adherence to justice, not amidst misfortune, but against the seductions of success. We may teach the world the height and shape of true honor. We may secure for our tarnished name a brightness that shall startle even jealous Europe into admiration. "A more truly glorious termination of the war, a more splendid spectacle, an example more highly useful to mankind at large, cannot well be conceived, than that of the victorious forces of the United States voluntarily abandoning all their conquests, without requiring any thing else than that which was strictly due to our citizens." * And who will venture to say that such an example would not be felt throughout Christendom and in future ages? In spite of the glare which war throws about its heroes and its achievements, the world is growing tired of "the confused sound of the warrior and garments rolled in blood," of beleaguered cities and wasted villages, of slaughtered men and desolated homes, of bloodshed and hatred. It is even now groaning to realize in its own experience the manifestation of that law which was given for universal obedience by the Saviour of all mankind, — "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself." Let us hasten to present an exhibition of its meaning, and we know not how many hearts will leap in sympathy. Other nations may rejoice to imitate the young, but manly and Christian, republic of America; and the time may approach, may ere long arrive, when all shall confess, in their application of this great law of love, that our neighbour is not our countryman alone, nor a "*suffering*" fellow-creature, "though at the farthest pole," but that man is our neighbour, — man, of whatever nation and in whatever condition. E. S. G.

* *Peace with Mexico*, p. 30.

NOTICES OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

The Great Atonement. By HENRY SOLLY, Author of "Walter Bernard," and "The Midnight Cry." London: John Chapman. 1847. 12mo. pp. 164.

THIS little volume vindicates and turns to practical use the true Christian interpretation of one of the sublimest doctrines of the New Testament. The doctrine of Reconciliation is made by the author to be as engaging and of as serious moment to our minds as the doctrine of Atonement, in the Calvinistic sense of it, is to its believers. Mr. Solly presents no new view, but he gives distinctness and interest to a view which has been repeatedly presented with great force. He maintains, with all arguments of reason and Scripture on his side, that the doctrine of Atonement has become as much perverted from its original meaning in Christendom as has the etymology of the word itself. In an Appendix, he adduces sufficient proof that the word Atonement meant, at the time our version of the Scriptures was made, simply at-one-ment, or reconciliation. In the body of his book, after developing this true scheme of Atonement, he traces its processes through Faith, Sorrow, Love, and Joy. We hope that some one of our publishers may reprint this book, for it is a valuable contribution, as well to our controversial, as to our practical religious literature. E.

Evangeline, a Tale of Acadie. By HENRY WADSWORTH LONGFELLOW. Fifth Edition. Boston: W. D. Ticknor & Co. 1848. 16mo. pp. 163.

PROFESSOR Longfellow's new poem has already, within the brief space of two months, reached a fifth edition,— a fact which indicates a greater degree of popularity, we believe, than has been attained by any other American poem. This is to be ascribed partly to his great success in overcoming those difficulties of the "inexorable hexameter" which have proved insuperable to every other English or American writer who has attempted to compose a long poem in this measure, and partly to the intrinsic beauty of the work itself. The story of Evangeline is marked by great simplicity and a strict accordance with the historical facts, as recorded in Haliburton's "Historical and Statistical Account of Nova Scotia," and in the early French writers; but the chief interest which the reader feels arises from the admirable delineation of the several characters, the minute and truthful de-

scriptions of rural life and natural scenery, and the rare beauty of the similes. The characters are drawn with a vigorous, but delicate touch, so that even the great master,

> "that left half told
> The story of Cambuscan bold,"

could hardly improve upon the sketch of Basil, the blacksmith, of René, the notary public, or of Benedict, Evangeline's father; while the heroine is scarcely inferior to any character that we remember to have met with in imaginative literature. She presents a perfect example of a loving, trusting, hoping, patient, suffering woman. The pictures of pastoral life are as minute as Crabbe's descriptions, and far more poetical. The first part of the poem describes the condition of the early French settlers of the village of Grand-Pré, and their most unjustifiable removal by the New England troops, after the total destruction of their homes. The second part, which contains the account of Evangeline's wanderings in search of her lost lover, wrought out of the poet's own imagination, will, we suppose, be generally regarded as the most beautiful. It is, indeed, full of admirable conceptions, and is superior, we think, to any thing that Mr. Longfellow has before written. S.

Artist Life, or Sketches of American Painters. By HENRY T. TUCKERMAN, Author of "Thoughts on the Poets," etc. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1847. 12mo. pp. 237.

HERE are lively and interesting notices of some of our native artists. To describe their character in a word, we should say that they are remarkably *accurate*. In every instance, we clearly discern the very man whom the writer aims to exhibit. Faithful likenesses are presented,—we see at once the peculiarities of each individual's genius and actual life. No friend of Sully could fail to recognize, in the few pages devoted to him, a complete portrait of one whose cheerful presence and happy artistic gifts won upon all hearts that came within the circle of his influence. The criticisms are always discriminating, but, to our mind, not sufficiently enthusiastic. When a writer who loves and appreciates art passes from West and Trumbull to Allston, we expect to see new fires kindled by the new atmosphere which he breathes. Still the book possesses a quite substantial merit. It preserves the lineaments of a number of our best artists, some of whom are destined to exert no small influence in shaping the destinies of the New World. C.

A Reply to Doctor Milner's "End of Religious Controversy," so far as the Churches of the English Communion are concerned. By SAMUEL FARMAR JARVIS, D. D., LL. D., Historiographer of the Church, etc. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1847. 12mo. pp. 251.

THIS volume shows no inconsiderable learning and acuteness. As proof of the candor and honesty of the writer, we may mention the fact, that he denies the genuineness of 1 John v. 7, and presents a good summary of the evidence against it. We commend the book to the attention of those who have ever read Milner's "End of Religious Controversy," pronounced by Charles Butler the ablest work in defence of the Roman Catholic Church in the controversy with Protestants, which had appeared in the English language. L.

The American Almanac and Repository of Useful Knowledge, for the Year 1848. Boston: J. Munroe & Co. 12mo. pp. 370.

The Unitarian Congregational Register, for the Year 1848. Boston: Crosby & Nichols. 1848. 12mo. pp. 70.

IT is impossible to give, in a short notice, any idea of the great amount of information to be derived from the American Almanac, well vindicating its title to be called a "Repository of Useful Knowledge." The past numbers have abundantly established its character as a "trustworthy manual of reference." On several subjects, the present volume is more full and complete than its predecessors. Among the articles of interest and value, we may mention those on the Observatory at Washington and the great Telescope at Cambridge, an abstract of the laws of the several States concerning Imprisonment for Debt, the chapters on the Patent-Office, on the history of the Electric Telegraph, and on Railroads. The meteorological tables embrace, besides the usual matter, the "flowering seasons," and "days and depth of snow, for a series of years, in several places."

We are grateful alike for some of the additions and some of the omissions in the "Unitarian Congregational Register." The compiler has done well to insert the term "Congregational" in the title, the Unitarians belonging to the great body of Congregational Christians, the attempts sometimes made to deprive them of the name notwithstanding. The Register contains many valuable statistics of the denomination, and at the close, in a series of extracts, some exposition of its doctrines. We think the present a decided improvement upon the similar publications of the two preceding years. L.

Titus Livius: Selections from the First Five Books, together with the Twenty-first and Twenty-second Books entire; chiefly from the Text of Alschefski. With English Notes for Schools and Colleges. By J. L. LINCOLN, Professor of Latin in Brown University. With an accompanying Plan of Rome, and a Map of the Passage of Hannibal. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1847. 12mo. pp. 329.

To the teachers and lovers of classical literature, as well as to those of the rising generation who are destined to cultivate an acquaintance with the Latin language and authors, we think Professor Lincoln has rendered an acceptable service. Some thirty years ago, and until a much later period, a volume containing the first five Books of Livy, without note or comment, was the first Latin classic put into the hands of the student after entering college. Provided with an abridgment of Ainsworth, Adam's Latin Grammar, and a translation, if he could get it, — though this was a thing not of easy acquisition, — he commenced his labors upon the author who held him longest and on whom the greatest amount of diligent, profitable study was bestowed. Mr. Folsom's publication afforded some relief in this state of need, but, as intimated in the preface of the present volume, it lacks that copious provision of notes which is believed to be necessary to supply the wants of the student. Professor Lincoln's notes are probably the result of difficulties gradually and successively observed, mastered, and noted down, as occasions presented them in the course of his instruction; in which work, as well as in settling the text, he has been assisted materially, no doubt, by the recent edition of the "distinguished European scholar" (Alschefski) to whom he refers. He acknowledges his indebtedness to many other restorers and expositors of Livy of high credit. His map, showing the route of Hannibal over the Alps, and another exhibiting a plan of ancient Rome, we conceive to be valuable helps, for which the student will thank him.

The notes possess one admirable characteristic in their brevity. Of all the obstacles which have served to paralyze the interest of the student and to obstruct the progress of classical knowledge, we think those interminable pages of rubbish and stupidity with which critics and commentators have loaded the text they have undertaken to explain are the most lamentable. Classical learning will never have a true existence till critics, editors, and lexicographers can, in a few clear, intelligible, vernacular words, tell us what little their labors have brought to light. If they have found out any thing worth knowing, they can communicate it without what the aborigines call "a long talk." Every intelligent reader knows what a clog it is to his progress in attaining the sense or preserving the interest of his author, to be incessantly bothered

with references to the bottom of the page or the end of the book, when both text and notes are in his own tongue. The most desirrable editions of Shakspeare we conceive to be those recent ones, in which, in the majority of cases, a single word gives us all the light we want. Who, then, will wade through an endless jargon of Latin annotations, for modern Latin deserves no better designation, to get what information five words or lines of modern English, French, or German might communicate? It is worse than searching two bushels of chaff to find two grains of wheat. Gray's Latin *morceaux* have been much admired, but only as imitations of Horace and Lucretius, as specimens of the ingenuity and taste of an accomplished man of letters. Few will regret that his "Ars Cogitandi" was left unfinished. Buchanan's version of the Psalms, executed with Horatian felicity, is a tedious book to read. Why attempt to resuscitate a dead language? Have we not a whole Babel of spoken and written tongues, with their respective literatures, now? Even the classics themselves are valuable chiefly as relics of what was once, in ages of a far remote antiquity, the intellectual and literary life of their times, times connected with succeeding periods down to our own, and casting back a faint glimmer of light into times earlier still and illuminated only by the uncertain rays of tradition and fable. F.

Practical Physiology; for the Use of Schools and Families. By Edward Jarvis, M. D. Philadelphia: Thomas, Cowperthwaite, & Co. 1847. 12mo. pp. 368.

This work deserves, and will undoubtedly obtain, a high rank in that class of productions among which it is the author's intention that it shall be placed. It is a hand-book of physiology, and compliance, from youth to age, with its instructions will tend to guide us healthily and happily through life, enabling us to avoid many of the rough paths and painful incidents which we are too apt to consider as inseparable from our earthly pilgrimage. With some of the most important precepts which this science inculcates, all who are capable of understanding them should be perfectly familiar; for without such knowledge we are as unfit to take proper care of ourselves, or of others, as we were before our release from the nursery. If instruction of the kind given in this book were more widely diffused, and made to hold a more prominent place in early education, many an hour of suffering and much sickness would be prevented. That these evils are often unnecessary, and are the penalties we pay for our ignorance on this important subject, is a fact on which we cannot too strongly insist. A treatise like the present must comprehend a certain

amount of information concerning the structure of the human frame, those chemical laws which are more immediately connected with the changes constantly going on within us, and the influence which these exert upon the whole physical system, with an especial reference to their effect upon the mind itself. The work before us is peculiarly adapted to enlighten the youthful reader on these points. It is full of valuable information, and contains many useful facts, drawn from a great number of larger volumes, and freed from the abstruse and complicated matter with which, in works of a more purely scientific character, they are necessarily mingled. These are presented to the youthful reader in a style at once attractive, clear, comprehensive, and practical. B—n.

The Gospel of To-day. A Discourse delivered at the Ordination of T. W. Higginson, as Minister of the First Religious Society in Newburyport, Mass., Sept. 15, 1847. By WILLIAM HENRY CHANNING. Together with the Charge, Right Hand of Fellowship, and Address to the People. Boston: Crosby & Nichols. 1847. 8vo. pp. 63.

Dangers of a Business Life. A Sermon preached at the Church of the Saviour, Brooklyn, N. Y., Sunday, September 19, 1847. By FREDERIC A. FARLEY, Pastor. New York. 1847. 8vo. pp. 8.

The Death of Little Children. A Sermon, preached at Brighton, Sunday Morning, September 19, 1847. By FREDERIC A. WHITNEY, Minister of the First Church. Boston: Crosby & Nichols. 1847. 8vo. pp. 15.

Two Years in the Ministry; or Farewell Discourses, comprising, I. Views of the Nature and Sources of True Christian Theology; and, II. Views of the Nature of the Christian Religion, and Salvation by Christ. Delivered September 26, 1847, *on leaving the Second Congregational Society in Southington, Conn.* By JAMES RICHARDSON, JR., A. M., Pastor of the First Congregational Society, Haverhill, Mass. Boston: Crosby & Nichols. 1847. 8vo. pp. 58.

Relation of Christianity to Human Nature. A Sermon preached at the Ordination of Mr. Frederick N. Knapp, as Colleague Pastor of the First Congregational Church in Brookline, Mass., on Wednesday, October 6, 1847. By HENRY W. BELLOWS, Pastor of the Church of the Divine Unity, in New York City. Together with the Charge and Right Hand of Fellowship. Boston: Crosby & Nichols. 1847. 8vo. pp. 47.

The Good Judge. A Sermon preached at the Federal Street Meetinghouse, October 17, 1847, *after the Death of Hon. Ar-*

temas Ward, LL. D. By EZRA S. GANNETT, Pastor of the Federal Street Church. Boston: Crosby & Nichols. 1847. 8vo. pp. 24.

A Discourse delivered before the Autumnal Unitarian Convention, held at Salem, Mass., Wednesday Evening, October 20, 1847. By GEORGE W. BRIGGS, Junior Minister of the First Church in Plymouth, Mass. Boston: B. H. Greene. 8vo. pp. 31.

The Guilt of Contempt. A Sermon, preached in the Union Street Brick Church of the Independent Congregational Society, Bangor, Me., on Sunday Afternoon, October 24, 1847. By HENRY GILES. Bangor. 1847. 8vo. pp. 16.

The True Position of the Church in Relation to the Age. A Discourse delivered at the Dedication of the Church of the Saviour, Wednesday, November 10, 1847. By the Pastor, R. C. WATERSTON. Boston: Crosby & Nichols. 1847. 8vo. pp. 40.

The American Citizen; his True Position, Character, and Duties. A Discourse, delivered before the Senate of Union College, at Schenectady, 26th July, 1847. By THEODORE SEDGWICK. New York: Wiley & Putnam. 1847. 8vo. pp. 36.

Fame and Glory. An Address before the Literary Societies of Amherst College, at their Anniversary, August 11, 1847. By CHARLES SUMNER. Boston: W. D. Ticknor & Co. 8vo. pp. 51.

An Introductory Lecture, delivered at the Massachusetts Medical College, November 3, 1847. By OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES, M. D., Parkman Professor of Anatomy and Physiology. Boston: Ticknor & Co. 1847. 8vo. pp. 38.

MR. CHANNING'S Discourse is marked by great vitality and energy; it is full of "thoughts that breathe and words that burn"; many will pronounce it visionary, or describe it as tinctured with a subtile mysticism, yet few can read it, we should think, without finding their souls stirred and elevated. — Mr. Farley's is a purely practical discourse. The "dangers of a business life" are pointed out, being its tendencies to promote selfishness, to cause religion to be separated from "common occupations," the standard of character to be lowered, and the future to be forgotten in the present. — Mr. Whitney's Sermon on "the death of little children" opens those Christian views on the subject which appeal at once to the affections and to faith, and which, duly meditated upon, become a source of strength in trial and means of growth in the spiritual life. — Although we by no means coincide with some of the views presented by Mr. Richardson on subjects of which, though requiring profound thought and careful analysis, he has disposed

in a somewhat summary manner, there are parts of his Discourses which are very effective, his warm and glowing style adding to the natural force of the thought. — If we understand Mr. Bellows, of which we are not quite sure, we cannot accept all his statements, at least without important qualifications; but he may, possibly, be right and we wrong; at all events, we like his free, earnest utterance. — Jesus, says Mr. Briggs, did not directly assail error, but made his appeal to great spiritual truths, and we must do the same; this is his first topic: his second is the "regeneration of the life," by bringing the "heart into direct contact with the eternal truth," or the "direct application of truth to the principles of the individual and the age." His Discourse is marked by great fervor, the sentiment is pure and reverently Christian, but one or two points we should prefer to state in a somewhat different form. — The Sermon by Mr. Giles on "contempt of humanity in any form of man" is marked by his peculiar and fervid eloquence, his keen power of analysis, and vivid conceptions of the fit, the beautiful, and the good. — Mr. Waterston speaks of the source of a true theology, to be found in the Gospel of Jesus miraculously attested; he then turns to the "civilization and philanthropy of the times," and the position of the church in regard to them, noticing especially slavery and war; and lastly refers to the "wants of individual man," — a reverential faith and Christian seriousness being prominent characteristics of the Discourse.

Mr. Sedgwick's Discourse, on "the true position, character, and duties of the American citizen," is full of wisdom drawn from the storehouse of history and from careful meditation; it is rich in thought and appropriate illustration, and altogether we hesitate not to pronounce it a noble discourse on a noble theme. — Mr. Sumner, in his brilliant Address before the "Literary Societies of Amherst College," passes in review the common notions of fame and glory; he then discusses the questions, — "to what extent, if any," glory is "a proper and commendable motive of conduct, or object of regard," — and "what are true fame and glory, and who are the men most worthy of honor." The performance is rich in historical and classical allusions, and in its tone eminently Christian. — Dr. Holmes, in his Introductory Lecture, touches upon many topics connected with the present state of the medical profession in this country, the honorable position which Boston is entitled to hold for the encouragement she has always given to discoveries in medical science, the history of the medical department of the University, and the principles and purposes with which he enters on the duties of his office, — the whole written with a rare union of the pleasant and the dignified in style.

INTELLIGENCE.

RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

Ecclesiastical Record. — The ministerial changes within the last two months have been comparatively few. Rev. Frederic W. Holland, having accepted the appointment of Secretary of the American Unitarian Association, has resigned his pastoral connection with the church in Rochester, N. Y. Rev. Charles Briggs, we understand, will remain in the office of the Association, and attend to its local business. — Rev. Mr. Weiss of Watertown has accepted an invitation to become the pastor of the Unitarian church in New Bedford. — Rev. Mr. Barry, formerly of Framingham, has resumed the duties of the ministry, as pastor of the Second Unitarian church in Lowell, — a situation which he was on the point of occupying when ill health obliged him to relinquish all professional labor, and which restores him to the scene of his earliest ministry. — Rev. Mr. Huntington, late of Ashby, has taken the permanent charge of the congregation at Milwaukie, Wis. — Rev. Mr. Tenney has resigned his office as pastor of the society in Kennebunk, Me. — Rev. Mr. Huntington of Boston has again declined an invitation from the church of the Messiah in the city of New York. — Rev. Mr. Angier of Milton will preach to the congregation in Bangor, Me., during the winter. — Rev. Mr. Palfrey, late of Barnstable, is preaching to the society in Belfast, Me., the arrangement with Mr. Rice, to which we referred in our last number, not having gone into effect. — Rev. Charles Brooks of Boston, on a recent visit to Vermont, preached several times in Montpelier, where we hope soon to hear that a Unitarian society has been formed.

We notice with pleasure the disposition of some of our congregations to repair or replace their time-worn sanctuaries. The South Congregational church in this city have, within the last year, raised the sum of $10,000, partly for this purpose, but more especially for the liquidation of their debt. — The Twelfth Congregational church in this city have, also, given a new face to the interior of their house of worship. — The society in East Cambridge, over which Dr. Ingersoll has just been settled, have expended $2000 in repairs of their meetinghouse. — The Unitarian society in Baltimore have not only renovated the interior of their beautiful church, but have made some important improvements in its construction, and have also paid off the debt with which they were encumbered. — The Unitarian meetinghouse in Athol has been repaired and remodelled. — The First Congregational society in Stow have suffered a severe loss in the destruction of their meetinghouse by fire, but propose at once to erect another in its place. — The Unitarian society in Barre are engaged in erecting a new meetinghouse. — The First Congregational parish in Brookline have decided to take down their present church, that they may build one better adapted for public speaking. — The Dedication services at the church of the Saviour and at the Indiana Street Congregational church, in this city, are noticed on another page. The former, from its situation as well as the solidity and style of its architecture, has been a costly structure, and is a con-

spicuous ornament of our metropolis, but, by the terms of the subscription, the larger part of the cost can never fall as a debt upon the society. The latter is a less expensive building, though the interior is particularly beautiful, and is designed to accommodate those persons who may be able to pay but a small annual assessment.

In our notice of the Autumnal Convention at Salem we remarked, that a "considerable number of ministers were present." A friend has informed us, that, by actual counting, he ascertained the number in attendance during the whole or different parts of the sessions to be one hundred and twenty-three.

Memorial to Congress on the War. — A meeting of Unitarians was held in the chapel in Bedford Street, Boston, on the 21st, and by adjournment on the 28th, of October, 1847, to consider what action they might take in reference to the present war with Mexico. Rev. Mr. Waterston of Boston was chosen Chairman, and Rev. Mr. Palfrey of Barnstable, Secretary. After some discussion, the following resolutions were passed: —

"*Resolved*, That it is expedient that Unitarians memorialize Congress against the continuance of the present war.

"*Resolved*, That, as Christian ministers, we are bound to, and do hereby, utter our deliberate condemnation of the war now existing between the United States and Mexico, and our solemn protest against its continuance.

"*Resolved*, That, in our opinion, it is the duty of Christians, without distinction of sect, to address memorials to Congress at the opening of their next session, urging the Representatives, Senators, and Executive of the United States at once to take the necessary steps for securing an immediate and permanent peace with Mexico, by withdrawing all troops of this nation from her territory, restoring to her possession the provinces which we now occupy, offering the amplest atonement in our power for the wrongs which we have inflicted, and appointing Commissioners empowered to adjust questions in dispute between these sister republics."

A committee of nine was appointed under the first of these votes, viz. Rev. Messrs. Stetson of Medford, Channing of Boston, Ware of Cambridge, Palfrey of Barnstable, Clarke and May of Boston, Francis of Cambridge, Stone of Salem, and Gannett of Boston; to whom were afterwards added seven laymen, viz. Messrs. J. P. Blanchard, L. G. Pray, G. G. Channing, C. Sumner, C. F. Adams, S. Fairbanks, and J. A. Andrew, of Boston. This committee have since prepared a memorial embodying the sentiment, and much of the language, of the last two resolutions, which has been sent to every Unitarian minister in the country, for circulation, in such manner as he may think proper, among his congregation.

Periodical Journals. — Rev. Nathaniel S. Folsom of Charlestown has taken the editorial charge of the *Christian Register*, still, however, performing his duties as a minister at large. — Rev. James F. Clarke of Boston has, also, without relinquishing his pastoral duties, assumed the editorship of the *Christian World*. — The *Christian Inquirer* of New York is now conducted by Rev. Mr. Bellows and Mrs. C. W. Kirkland. The subscription has been reduced to one dollar a year, at which price a very large circulation alone can defray the expense of publication. — The

Massachusetts Quarterly Review is the title of a new journal, the first number of which, if it have rather disappointed expectation, may only prepare us for a more agreeable disappointment in future. The names of Ralph Waldo Emerson, Theodore Parker, and J. Elliot Cabot as editors are a sufficient assurance that it will not be dull or timid. Independent in its own way, strong of purpose, and sincere in expression, it will, we suppose, deal with politics, art, and religion, with individual and social life, with the tendencies and wants of the times, in a manner to disturb some sensibilities and offend some convictions. We do not expect to like all we shall find in its pages; but its honesty and its energy, we doubt not, will entitle it to commendation. — The *Harbinger*, the organ of the Associationists, has been removed to New York. The experiment at Brook Farm having been relinquished, Mr. Ripley has gone to New York to conduct the paper and take charge of the interests of the cause to which it is devoted in that city, securing also, by this removal, a more central position for the efforts with which he is connected.

Great Britain and Ireland. — Our readers are so well acquainted with the recent history of the relations existing between the Unitarians of the British Isles and of the United States, that we need not enter into details; nor do we wish to bear any part in perpetuating an unpleasant and needless state of feeling. The extreme earnestness of some of our English and Irish friends on the subject of slavery leads them to use language and adopt measures, the good effect of which we seriously question, while of the purity or kindness of their intentions we entertain no doubt. At the last annual meeting of the British and Foreign Unitarian Association, a warm discussion arose in consequence of a passage in the Report of the Committee, alluding in friendly terms to an invitation which had been sent from this city to our English brethren to attend our anniversary meetings. The invitation proceeded from a few individuals, but was unhappily supposed to have emanated from the American Unitarian Association, which had committed the offence of including a slaveholder in the number of its Vice-Presidents. The misconception of its origin was corrected, and the language of the Report was sustained by the vote of a large majority of the members of the British and Foreign Association. Since that meeting a reply to the letter of invitation has been in circulation in England and Scotland, and, having received the signature of fifty-four ministers and fourteen hundred and thirty laymen, has been recently transmitted to this country. If our pages were not crowded, even to the exclusion of domestic intelligence which we had prepared, we should insert this document; but its appearance in the weekly journals of our denomination has brought it before the eyes of all our readers. With "affectionate acknowledgments of our kindness, and all earnest desires to preserve and reciprocate it," the reply contains a fervent remonstrance on our imputed participation in the guilt of slaveholding.

The same want of space obliges us to omit the "Response to the Address of the Irish Unitarian Christian Society, from their Brethren in America," prepared by a committee appointed at a meeting held in Boston in May, 1846, consisting of Rev. Mr. Briggs of Plymouth, Rev. Mr. May of Leicester, J. A. Andrew, Esq., of Boston, Rev. Messrs. Clarke and Huntington of Boston, Rev. Mr. Peabody of Ports-

mouth, N. H., Rev. Mr. Osgood of Providence, R. I., and Rev. Mr. Holland of Rochester, N. Y. The Reply is written in terms of the closest sympathy with the Address which called it forth.

The English Unitarians are much interested at the present time in establishing a collegiate institution in London, under the title of University Hall, which shall offer to students the advantages of an academical residence in the metropolis, and shall furnish them with instruction in branches not taught in University College, particularly theology and mental and moral philosophy. A society has been formed and subscriptions taken for this object.

Rev. William Hincks, who, after resigning his professorship in Manchester College on its removal from York, established the *London Inquirer*, and edited it with marked ability for five years, preaching meanwhile to the congregation worshipping in the Stamford Street chapel, has relinquished his connection with the Inquirer, and is now in this country, where he will spend a year in travelling and occasional lecturing on Astronomy, and on Botany, which he has made a particular subject of study. The publication of the Inquirer is continued, though it does not appear under whose editorial charge.

The death of Rev. Mr. Johns of Liverpool is an event suited to awaken emotions of mingled sorrow and admiration. Mr. Johns had for ten years been the faithful minister to the poor in that city, and contracted the fever which occasioned his death in his attendance on the destitute sick whom he sought in their wretched and pestilential abodes. He was a man of poetic temperament and fine powers of mind, but devoted himself with unwearied zeal to the labors of his ministry, and has earned the meed of a true Christian martyrdom.

Dedications. — The "Church of the Saviour" in Boston, Mass., was dedicated November 10, 1847. The Sermon was preached by Rev. Mr. Waterston, the pastor, from 1 Corinthians iii. 11; the Dedication Prayer was offered by Rev. Mr. Gannett of Boston; and the other services were conducted by Rev. Messrs. Parkman, Huntington, and Lothrop, of Boston, and Rev. Dr. Pierce of Brookline.

The Indiana Street Congregational Church in Boston, Mass., was dedicated December 12, 1847. The Sermon was preached by Rev. Mr. Fox, the pastor, from Ezekiel xiv. 3; the Prayer of Dedication was offered by Rev. Mr. Lothrop of Boston; and the other services were conducted by Rev. Messrs. Huntington, Peabody, Barnard, and Parkman, of Boston.

The meetinghouse erected by the First Congregational Society in Framingham, Mass., in place of their former house of worship, was dedicated December 1, 1847. The Sermon was preached by Rev. Mr. Huntington of Boston, from 2 Corinthians v. 18; the Prayer of Dedication was offered by Rev. Mr. Allen of Northboro'; and the other services were conducted by Rev. Messrs. Bulfinch of Nashua, N. H., Ware of Cambridge, Sanger of Dover, and Muzzey of Cambridge.

Installation. — Rev. George Goldthwait Ingersoll, D. D., formerly of Burlington, Vt., was installed as pastor of the Third Congregational Church in Cambridge (East Cambridge), Mass., December 5, 1847. The services were conducted by the Unitarian ministers of Cam-

bridge, without the organization of a council. The Sermon was preached by Rev. Mr. Newell, from 1 Timothy ii. 3–7; the Prayer of Installation was offered by Rev. Dr. Walker; and the other services, by Rev. Messrs. Ware and Muzzey.

OBITUARY.

Hon. Alexander Hill Everett died at Canton, in China, May 29, 1847, aged 56 years.

Mr. Everett was born in Boston, the second son of Rev. Oliver Everett, then minister of the church in Church Green. He graduated at Cambridge in 1806, and not long after began the study of the law, under the direction of Hon. John Quincy Adams. When Mr. Adams went to Russia, as our Minister to that country, Mr. Everett accompanied him as his secretary, being at that time not quite twenty years old. This initiation into diplomatic pursuits was followed by a life devoted more constantly to similar occupations than to those of his first chosen profession. In 1815, he again went to Europe, as Secretary of our Legation at the Court of the King of the Netherlands. In 1817 he returned to America, but in 1818 embarked again for Holland, having been appointed Chargé d'Affaires. In 1825, he accepted the position of Ambassador at the Court of Madrid, where he remained till 1829.

For many years after his return to America, he conducted the North American Review, to which he had contributed constantly for a long period. Besides some public business in Cuba, and his duties in our own legislature, his principal public services after his return from Europe were rendered in Louisiana, in 1842, '43, and '44, as President of Jefferson College, an institution endowed and sustained by the State of Louisiana, and in China as Commissioner from our government to the government of that empire. The nomination to this office took him wholly by surprise; but he finally accepted it, and entered on the studies necessary for its discharge with great pleasure and alacrity. His early acquaintance with Oriental literature, his constant interest in the institutions of China, and his carefully acquired knowledge of European society and political institutions, with his exquisite habits of observation, gave us reason to hope that his residence in that country would throw new light on many points of its manners and policy. During his residence in China, he applied himself with great zeal to his diplomatic duties, and to the study of affairs around him; but his strength was constantly yielding under the painful disease, before which his earthly life at last gave way.

Mr. Everett looked forward to his death with a perfect consciousness of its steady approach, and without fear or anxiety. His warm religious principle, always high and strong, had such control of him, that he was neither crushed by the agony of long and increasing disease, nor alarmed at the announcement of its coming end. He was of philosophical habits of study and reflection, and his religious principles had through his life been single and clear; refuting utterly the insinuation, that philosophical study weakens, or deadens, the growth of religious sentiments and convictions. He was a careful metaphysician, and his study of the human mind made all the clearer to him its relations to God and eternity. His religious faith was, undoubtedly, directed by

the habits of thought and the convictions thus gained. Such convictions, probably, led him to the views of religion in which he always lived, as directly as elaborate rational criticism of the Bible led other men, who surrounded him, to similar views. All his writings, as well as his frequent conversation, are the evidence that this faith, while simple and reasonable, was pure, and high, and kind. It was wholly unlimited by the formal creeds of other men, — as he certainly did not fear to find his own ways of pleasing God. It led him to his diligence in study, to his unbending principle, and to that kindness of heart, and action, and motive, with which he hoped he could train himself for heaven, and which so distinguished him, and so endeared him to those he has left behind. And it always displayed itself in his demeanour, in his advice to younger men, and in his sedulous interest in the established ordinances of religion. He was catholic in his sympathies with men of other religious opinions from his own. He met Christians of any name kindly and heartily. He was himself a member of the church in Brattle Street, Boston, and, when opportunity permitted, a constant attendant on Unitarian places of worship, to which his religious convictions and sympathies directly conducted him.

Besides his numerous contributions to periodicals, a few of which only have been collected, Mr. Everett's principal published works are "Europe," a treatise on the political condition of Europe in 1821, published in 1822, 8vo., — "America," a similar treatise published in 1825, 8vo., — "New Ideas on Population," suggested by, and a reply to, Malthus and his school, 1827. Two volumes of his Essays have been published; and he had prepared for a continuation of the series.

H — e.

Ezra Green, M. D., died at Dover, N. H., July 25, 1847, aged 101 years and 27 days.

Johnson fixes upon a century "as the test of literary merit." The book that survives a hundred years, and after it has lost all the advantages it once derived from personal allusions, local customs, and temporary opinions, continues to be read with pleasure and improvement, must have substantial and intrinsic worth. We might almost apply the same test to life and character. We certainly feel that an earthly pilgrimage which has reached to a century must have something extraordinary in it, that the life which has been so prolonged must have been in singular conformity with the physical and moral laws of God. We feel an interest in ascertaining something of the character and habits of one who has so far exceeded the usual age of man, and find it difficult to resist the conviction that there was in them that which largely contributed to this result. We cannot undertake, in the present case, to gratify this curiosity, but we desire to preserve in our journal some brief but permanent record of one who had much to make him worthy of remembrance and honor, besides "length of years."

Ezra Green was born at Malden, Mass., June 17 (Old Style), 1747. He was graduated at Cambridge, in 1765, studied medicine with Dr. Sprague of Malden, and commenced the practice of his profession at Dover, N. H., about 1769. Here he became intimately acquainted with the Rev. Dr. Belknap, then pastor of the First Congregational Church at Dover. He cherished a profound veneration for the memory

of that distinguished scholar and divine, and often acknowledged the beneficial influence he exerted in the formation of his character and opinions when a young man. Immediately after the battle of Bunker's Hill, he joined the American army as a surgeon, and for several years during the Revolutionary war he served in that capacity, both on the land and on the sea. He resigned his commission in the navy in the autumn of 1781, and, returning to Dover, relinquished the practice of his profession and engaged in commercial pursuits. The remainder of his life was uneventful but useful, marked even to the last by a ready sympathy in all that related to the public good, and a prompt fidelity in meeting all his responsibilities as a man, a citizen, and a Christian. He early became a member of the First Congregational church in Dover, and in 1790 was chosen deacon, and held the office for many years. Chauncey's "Dissertations" and Worcester's "Bible News" led him to adopt liberal and Unitarian opinions in theology, in the profession of which he was always zealous and consistent. Although then more than eighty years old, he took an active part in the formation of the First Unitarian society in Dover, in 1827, and rejoiced heartily in its growth and prosperity. In politics he was a Federalist, and as a member of the New Hampshire State Convention he voted in favor of the adoption of the Constitution of the United States. The prominent feature in his character was a moral independence and integrity that led him to do and say what he thought right, and then meet the event with a calm and undisturbed mind. It was this that prompted him to say to Paul Jones, on the quarter-deck of the Ranger, that "he regarded the descent made upon the Earl of Selkirk's property as a piratical expedition." This moral independence and integrity accompanied him through life, making him firm, honest, consistent, and producing that equable frame of mind which tended to prolong his years. He died in the full possession of his faculties, leaving an honored name and memory. L—p.

Rev. James Kay died at Trout Run, Penn., September 22, 1847, aged 70 years.

This faithful Christian pastor, whose last twenty-five years were spent in the ministry at Northumberland, Penn., was born at Heap Fold (the name of his paternal mansion), near Bury, in Lancashire, June 21, 1777. He was the only son of a widowed mother, whose circumstances were happily such as enabled her to give her son an education qualifying him for mercantile pursuits, and, at her death, to leave him and her only daughter an annuity sufficient to secure them from dependence. He was brought up in the Established Church; but, at the age of seventeen, the simpler forms of the Dissenters so attracted and impressed him that he turned his attention to theological studies, and sought to prepare himself for the sacred office of a Christian teacher at a Dissenting college, somewhat against his mother's wishes. The late Mr. Little, whose memory is still affectionately cherished in the Unitarian church at Washington, where he so faithfully ministered, was a fellow-student with Mr. Kay in the same college.

In 1799, Mr. Kay was settled over a Calvinistic congregation in Kendal, Westmoreland, and retained that situation for a period of ten years. In 1809, while engaged in the delivery of a course of lectures on the Epistles, doubts of the soundness of the Calvinistic form of faith began

to disturb his mind. That one, educated, as Mr. Kay had been, in Orthodox Christianity, found occasion of doubt in the study of the Epistles shows both his love of truth, and the simplicity of the Gospel, which even the confessed obscurities of those portions of the New Testament could not hide. In 1810, after a severe struggle with his old faith, he resigned the pulpit consecrated as the first scene of his ministerial duty. He was followed by about one third of his flock. A large hall was hired and fitted up for religious worship. As his means were diminished, and he had a wife and children to provide for, he took charge of a number of boys, thus adding to the care of the pulpit the daily labor of teaching. He continued thus to labor, preaching three times every Lord's day for seven years, at the termination of which period, as his health was giving way, he resigned his pastoral charge and his class of boys, and removed with his wife and eight children to Heap Fold, with the resolution of giving up preaching altogether, and devoting himself to agricultural pursuits. But for this mode of life he was in no way fitted, nor could he cease to feel interested in the cause of Christian truth. After a residence of two years on the spot of his nativity, he accepted an invitation to take charge of a Unitarian congregation in Hindley, Lancashire. Here he was comfortably situated. To the time passed in this place he looked back as the brightest and pleasantest. Here he would probably have remained to the end of his life, had not the claims of his children pressed powerfully on his thoughts. The inspiring prospect disclosed to him across the Atlantic attracted his heart, and for the sake of free room and all the helps to growth and progress which this country offered for his sons, he resolved to transfer his home to America. His flock parted with him with great reluctance, and for more than a year after his departure kept their pulpit vacant, cherishing a confident hope that they should see his face again.

In company with seven other families, all forming one friendly circle, Mr. Kay, with his wife and nine children, arrived in this country in June, 1821, bringing with him property sufficient to insure to persons of simple tastes and habits a comfortable independence. After a few months spent in Philadelphia, leaving his family behind him, he went westward in search of a home for them. Deviating from his proposed course for the sake of paying the tribute of his respect at the grave of Priestley, he sought Northumberland where those honored ashes lie. There he was persuaded to remain, and the spot was soon invested to his mind with all the associations of home. The intermittent fever of that region, the only objection to the choice he had made, severely tried his by no means rugged constitution. He lived, notwithstanding, to a good old age. Yet the wasting attacks of the climate occasioned him seasons of debility, which loosened his hold on life, and combined with his faith and his hopes to fix his regards above and beyond the present. He was disabled also by his impaired health for a continuance of those zealous exertions in the cause of Liberal Christianity which his earlier years had witnessed. Still, as his strength would permit, he discharged the offices of a Christian pastor, and endeared himself to the little flock there gathered, and to the whole neighbourhood. At his far-off post he watched the progress of opinion in our denomination with deep interest, and sometimes with an alarm which he lived to believe, and was happy to confess, was groundless. He was glad to de-

clare his conviction that the household of faith to which he belonged was growing in the spirit and fruits of Christian truth. His deportment in his family and towards all persons was marked by great benignity. He abounded in that wisdom which is, first and last, gentle. His continued ill-health kept the approaching hour of his departure always before him; and although his death was caused by a sudden and violent attack of disease, during a temporary absence from home, yet he was not taken by surprise. He fell asleep with the accents of a devout faith on his lips, and, we doubt not, with the trustful spirit of a disciple in his heart. No one who saw Mr. Kay in his later years, when time had silvered his few thin locks, will soon forget the benign beauty of his old age. His personal appearance was altogether winning and venerable. Of eleven children, eight survive to cherish, with their mother, the faithful sharer of all their father's cares, his blameless and honored memory. F.

Hon. Artemas Ward, LL. D., died in Boston, October 7, 1847, aged 85 years.

Judge Ward was the son of General Ward, whose name is connected with the early period of the American Revolution. He was born at Shrewsbury, Mass., in 1762, and graduated at Harvard College in 1783. Having completed his professional studies, he opened an office at Weston, in 1786. In 1801, in consequence of the removal of his brother-in-law, the late Samuel Dexter, to Washington, he transferred his residence to Charlestown, whence, in 1809, he removed to Boston. In both places he had a very extensive practice, and his methodical habits and untiring industry enabled him to perform a vast amount of professional labor with apparent ease. He was also much in public life, as Representative, Counsellor, and Senator in the government of his native State, and from 1812 to 1817 Representative in Congress from the county of Suffolk. In 1819, he became Judge of the Boston Court of Common Pleas, and in 1820 Chief Justice of the Circuit Court of Common Pleas for the Commonwealth, then recently organized. This office he resigned in 1839; and from a long course of professional and public duties, all successfully and honorably discharged, retired to pass the remainder of his days in the seclusion of private life. We cannot here speak as we would of his many excellent qualities of intellect and heart, which laid the foundation of his eminent usefulness and success in life, and secured for him an endeared and venerated memory. High above all stood a deep and unconquerable love of justice, a reverence for truth and right. This marked all his transactions of business; as a lawyer it raised him above all pettifogging and chicanery, which he held in special abhorrence; while as a judge it led him to be patient and faithful, and especially careful to dismiss no cause without an impartial and thorough hearing. No one ever took to the bench a deeper feeling of responsibleness, or left it with a purer name. The tribute which the tidings of his death called forth from the Suffolk bar bears testimony to the sense entertained of his courtesy and kindness, as well as of the higher qualities of integrity and love of right, by those best entitled to speak of his judicial merits. His strictness and elevation of principle, his unstained life, the simplicity of his habits, his Christian faith, his reverential piety, and filial trust in a wise and paternal Provi-

dence, which sustained him under painful infirmities of body, and afforded peace and serenity in the closing scene, all combined to stamp on his character features of great dignity and worth. L.

Rev. Daniel M. Stearns died at Lincoln, Mass., October 19, 1847, aged 54 years.

Mr. Stearns was the youngest son of the late Rev. Charles Stearns, D. D., for many years the minister of the Congregational Society in Lincoln. He passed his youth at home, under the guidance and instruction of his father, whose limited pecuniary means prevented him from giving his son so early a collegiate education as he desired. Daniel devoted several years to labor on the farm, sometimes teaching school in the winter, until, prepared by his father, he was admitted to the Sophomore class in Brown University, and was graduated September 16, 1822. He then returned to Lincoln, and pursued his studies with reference to the ministry with his father, teaching school a part of the time, and received approbation to preach from the Cambridge Association. In the summer of 1827, he went to Dennis, on Cape Cod, to preach as a candidate, and was ordained as pastor of the Congregational church and society in that place, May 14, 1828. He faithfully and acceptably discharged the duties of the ministry there, under many trials and discouragements, until March, 1839, when his pastoral relation was dissolved at his own request; though he continued to supply the pulpit several months afterwards. He preached for a few months in other places, but not with reference to a settlement, and soon returned with his family to "dwell among his own people," where he quietly and honorably passed the remainder of his life.

Mr. Stearns was chosen by his fellow-townsmen to represent them in the legislature of Massachusetts for the years 1841 and 1842; for they had confidence in his integrity and moral principle, as well as in his intelligence, as a politician. He was no idler, as is too often the case with those who leave professional pursuits, but devoted himself to agriculture, and labored daily in support of his family, often beyond his strength, not being favored with a strong and vigorous constitution. In 1842, the Unitarian Congregational society was formed in Lincoln, of which Mr. Stearns was an active and valued member, and was chosen one of the deacons of the church, the duties of which office he faithfully and meekly performed. He officiated several years as superintendent of the Sunday school, and took a lively interest in every thing connected with the welfare of the church and the spread of Liberal Christianity.

As a man, Mr. Stearns was remarkably amiable, prudent, and upright, and was highly esteemed by his neighbours and townsmen. As a Christian, he was sincere and devoted. His theological opinions were decidedly Unitarian. To every thing exclusive and bigoted, to Orthodox creeds and dogmas, he was always opposed. But he was charitable towards those who differed from him in sentiment, while firm in the maintenance of his own more liberal views of Christianity. The temper he displayed under trial, disappointment, and sickness proved the strength of his faith in God his Father, and the comfort of his hope as a disciple of Jesus Christ; in which faith and hope he calmly resigned his spirit into the hands of his Heavenly Father. R.

THE

CHRISTIAN EXAMINER

AND

RELIGIOUS MISCELLANY.

MARCH, 1848.

ART. I. — THE PAST, THE PRESENT, AND THE FUTURE.*

Mr. Carey's volume we regard as a valuable contribution of facts and thoughts to the resources out of which, in due time, will be formed a true science of political economy and social order. He concerns himself mainly with the material interests of man, not, however, overlooking their connection with his moral well-being. One thing which we especially like in the work is its strong advocacy, by the application of stubborn facts, of the cause of peace, — showing very conclusively that war is a mistake as well as a sin, bad as a matter of policy as well as a violation of the law of God. It is not our purpose to discuss the author's peculiar doctrines, or to decide upon the soundness of the views he takes of the vexed questions of free trade and commercial intercourse. The examination of these questions belongs to journals more exclusively devoted to secular affairs. We refer to the book because it is suggestive of thoughts in harmony with our present design, which is to glance at a few facts and arguments that show the need and may encourage the hope of social progress. In present tendencies we would find a warrant for the anticipation of a better condition of things yet to come.

We open our subject by asking our readers to bring be-

* *The Past, the Present, and the Future.* By H. C. Carey, Author of "Principles of Political Economy," etc., etc. Philadelphia: Carey & Hart. 1848. 8vo. pp. 474.

fore their minds the picture of an estate in feudal times, — a picture of men and things as they then existed, drawn to the life, that shall speak to their senses, giving them a strictly true and living idea of the social system which once prevailed. There is the gloomy castle, with its massive towers, deep moat, heavy drawbridge, and ponderous gates; at the entrance the Herculean warder, on the battlements the steel-clad sentinels, within the court-yard rough and rioting men-at-arms. There is the oaken hall, where, after the chase or fight, the mad revel runs high and the wildest passions rage. From the tallest turret may be seen dark forests stretching away in the distance, poorly cultivated hills and valleys lying hard by, groups, under the very shadow of the fortress, of dark, cold, damp, mud-walled and thatch-roofed hovels. Let this domain be examined in clear daylight, disrobed of all rainbow-broidered clouds of romance, in all its rugged, comfortless, coarse, and naked reality, — just as the stern fidelity of history must describe it, and not as the gorgeous imagination of the novelist paints it. This picture we would have thus seen, in order that the condition of society of which it was the material representative may be better understood. Within and around the feudal domain, speaking comparatively, was superstition and not religion, ignorance and not knowledge, slavery and not freedom, rudeness and not refinement, suffering and not comfort, wealth obtained by violence, poverty caused by direct oppression, man the foe or slave of his brother-man, despotic and lawless force, encumbered with its own iron panoply, ruling herds of human beings collared and driven like the brutes. The facts in the case, could we get at them, would fully bear out this description; because such wretchedness must have been, because history in part so tells the story, and because even now, under similar circumstances, a similar state of things exists. The landholding nobility and the squalid serfs of Russia are, in many respects, living examples of the relations which almost universally obtained, a few centuries since, between lords and peasants, warlike barons and their stolid followers.

Having imagined this picture of the past, let it be contrasted with another, familiar as our own homes, and easily painted, — a New England village, with its lines of trees, leafy sentinels guarding each side of the broad street, rows of neat houses, with stores, mechanics' shops, and

churches interspersed. The dwellings are all nearly of the same pattern. One or more may boast of three stories; the majority are but one story and a half in height; many of them are embellished with green blinds and verdant or blooming front-yards. In various directions from the main road, winding along valleys and round the hill-sides, other roads lead to well-tilled and productive farms. The truth of the description will not be affected, if a river and a factory or two are introduced, or a locomotive is sent whistling through the fields; and it demands that several free district schools shall be sprinkled over the township. The inhabitants of this small democracy are nearly on a level, — well-fed, well-clad, intelligent, and independent. Every adult male is a voter; and almost every adult male may, in turn, aspire to be a selectman or representative to the General Court. A newspaper is printed in the village, of course; and the affairs of the nation are duly discussed by the fireside in winter, by the road-side in summer, and at the store or post-office — usually one and the same place — at all seasons of the year. Among the population there is little crime or poverty. Front-doors are secured by slender bolts, scores of which might be wrought out of the huge bars that fastened the iron-cased gates of ancient castles. Captains by the dozen can be found engaged in a variety of peaceful occupations; and the brigadier-general himself has nothing but his title, and his uniform on muster-day, to distinguish him from other honest citizens. The lawyer must despair of having clients, unless a "smart" man and popular. The doctor may not be very scientific, but he must be sociable and attentive. The preachers are freely criticized in all respects by their parishioners, as if they were public property, and must do their best to perform a miracle and satisfy every body. At Thanksgiving, all the tables smoke with roast turkeys and plum-puddings. Servants are superseded by "help," laborers by "hired men"; spinners and weavers are turned into "operatives"; and nobody is a whit superior to any body else. The representative of labor, who pays only a poll-tax, neutralizes the vote of the representative of capital, who pays a tenth part of the municipal expenses. "Squire Hathaway," in the big brick house on the hill, is literally the fellow-citizen of John Smith, who lives in "the ten-footer down the lane"; and it would be a hazardous experiment for Mrs. Hathaway to give herself airs, although she may own a three-ply carpet and a piano-forte for her daughters.

That feudal estate once *was*; this New England village now *is*. Who can bring them together in his imagination, and not see what an advance the present is on the past? In the gradual transformation of warlike castles into quiet towns, — nay, in the slender bolt taking the place of the ponderous iron bar, as just now suggested, — is there not all the evidence a thoughtful mind wants, to prove, that, however the world of matter has continued to revolve on its old axis and in its old orbit, the world of men has neither stood still nor moved in a circle, but gone forward nearer and nearer to the promised land of a Christian civilization? It would be absurd to ask the question, except to introduce another, namely, — Is that promised land of a Christian civilization yet reached and settled? Has society grown up to its manhood? Is there no future to come, in which more will be gained on the present than the present has gained on the past? If this inquiry were put to men and women turned of fifty, the majority might doubt whether a century of to-morrows will bring about any salutary changes in the condition of things to-day. Middle age, its own fortune made, its own social position fixed, hooped round by habits and chained down by prejudices, is naturally inclined to be conservative, to shake its head in opposition to all reforms and its warning finger at young hope and sanguine expectation. Now we pay all due respect to those who shrink from progress, because it may seat too large a crowd on the platform they have exclusively occupied. We have a proper regard for the opinion of those who, standing themselves on pleasant elevations, think the restless multitude below had much better stay below and keep quiet. We appreciate the position of the self-appointed brakemen on the car of civilization, so fearful that, if it go farther or faster forward, it will be thrown from the track and broken in pieces. Such conservatives have their office and do their work. They are useful checks. They produce a friction quite favorable to safety; though, as obstacles to the onward movement, they need anticipate little success, — for that movement, like the calm, resistless force of the mighty river, cannot be stayed.

More is to be done than has ever yet been done on our globe by this generation and the myriads behind us. The New England village is still but a pioneer, and by no means a specimen of the universal prosperity even of Christendom, or the larger part of Christendom. In numerous and terrific

ways, injustice, misery, and crime still torment the race. Their black and bloody foot-prints stain the fairest fields, and leave marks on the pavement of the noblest cities. Evil, as an argument for constant reform, is everywhere on the very surface of things, and but thinly disguised by garish luxury and artificial refinement.

England and the United States may be taken as, on the whole, the best and most prosperous members of the family of nations; and yet of them what fearful things must be said in sober truth! What a dark as well as bright side, what shame as well as glory, belongs to both! There is the loathsome wretchedness and black depravity of the English mines; a moral night, filling them like the material darkness, for which no "safety-lamp" has been provided. There are the filth and fever, pauperism and sin, crowding the streets of Manchester. There are the Poor-Law Commissioners' Reports to Parliament, in which it is shown how public charity panders to public vice, and legalized relief from starvation operates as a bounty on iniquity. What a land of beggary is Ireland! What a sublime and terrible congregation of contrasts is London, with its royal palaces and its gin-palaces, its cathedrals and its brothels, its St. James's squares and its St. Giles's alleys, its Greenwich hospitals and its gaming hells, its magnificent stables for the queen's horses and its homeless thousands of the queen's subjects, its idle nobility squandering princely revenues and its overworked laborers half dead with hunger, its Italian Operas and its "Songs of the Shirt," its graceful literature and its graceless licentiousness, — in a word, its golden splendor which cannot be imagined and its squalid wretchedness which cannot be described!

But this is in the Old World. Coming nearer home, the view is somewhat more favorable, on the whole, but not so bright as national vanity imagines. Our commercial capital, for its size and its age, has no great superiority over the world's commercial capital, if we look at it as exhibiting the permanent condition of human beings. Fearfully large and multiform are the ignorance, the inequality, the iniquity, within its limits. There is no need of quoting here the harsh and melancholy testimony of statistics. It is enough to say, "There is a great and growing city," and instantly all know that streams of moral pollution must flow through it, — that the agonies of many innocent and many guilty sufferers, that

crime in its blackness and poverty in its destitution, that grasping covetousness and wasteful prodigality, that degradation and abuse of body, mind, and heart, that shams, hypocrisies, lies of all sorts, must be within its crowded streets and underneath its many roofs. Instantly all know this, because all this, at present, belongs to, enters into the very constitution of, a great and growing city, is part and parcel of it, in the view of many a matter of course and a matter of necessity. With multitudes the impression is fixed, that you cannot have a city without broad contrasts, — lights beaming as midday, shadows black as midnight. At any rate, — and this general statement is all we now need to make, — none deny, that, congregated in cities, sprinkled over this land and over every land, are evils, unnatural evils, violations of law and order, of purity and truth, in number beyond calculation, in destructive force and poisonous influence most mighty and most cunning, fixed and fastened upon the social system, seemingly beyond the reach of removal or even of mitigation.

But, passing over acknowledged evils, it is important to notice next certain facts not usually put into that category. These facts belong to and grow out of the present organization or present stage of society. They are consistent with much prosperity, and are perhaps even endurable just now; but still they are facts which, in the light of a rational and practicable idea of future progress, become very serious defects and ugly deformities. Among them may be named the stinted and partial education of the greater part of the entire population of Christendom. Admitting the progress of science to have been marvellous, and the diffusion of knowledge wide, there still remain a prevalent ignorance of the simplest truths and an unequal development of the faculties, to which, if effects are to be traced back to obvious causes, numberless discomforts, to use no harsher term, under which humanity suffers, must be attributed. To one acquainted with the alphabet of physiology or natural philosophy, there appear in all directions pains and calamities, coming from the infraction of laws as certain and universal as the law of gravitation. Everywhere, throughout all communities, in relation to the body, the intellect, and the moral nature, blundering guess-work is vainly endeavouring to do that which can be successfully done only by accurate knowledge. To take a single example, there is not one in a hundred who

knows how, or rather what, to breathe. Mistakes as egregious, in the view of true science, as the putting together of fire and gunpowder and cotton, without dreaming of explosion and conflagration, are committed by the most intelligent every hour. And if a superior intelligence were summoned from another world, and were asked in what manner, on a given number of square miles, among a given number of men, women, and children, a certain amount of disease, disappointment, and crime might be produced, his reply, without doubt, would describe a condition of things not very unlike that now existing in our most civilized communities. Knowledge, then, is not yet diffused as it ought to be, and as it will be.

And why not? This question calls up another imperfection to be considered. Multitudes are condemned by the force of circumstances, if not by direct oppression, to lives of almost incessant labor. Physical toil unquestionably is more of a blessing than a curse. That some sweat of the brow, as a part of the price of bread, is rightly demanded of all, appears from the fact that all have bodies and need exercise. Dyspepsia and gout, and all the ills that flesh is heir to, are very conclusive, though not very agreeable, witnesses to the doctrine, that man the animal must toil, or as an animal degenerate and die before his time. We are brought to the same conclusion by some recent statements in regard to the tendency towards Liliputianism in stature and strength observable among the, so-called, higher classes of society. The truth is, that eloquence, learning, imagination, wisdom, wit, and worth are not abstractions, but dwell in fleshly tabernacles, which are moved by muscles, upheld by bones, kept living by the circulation of the blood, nourished by organs of digestion, — an arrangement which plainly contemplates some manual labor as among the conditions of human existence.

But where, as in the case of vast numbers, *all* life is work of the body, the matter looks wrong, especially if we remember that each one of these workers can think and love, as well as eat and drink. Now are there not such multitudes, not only under the worn-out, unjust institutions of the Old World, but likewise in fairer regions nearer home? What express practical recognition is there, in our commercial and manufacturing systems, of the claims of all intellects to a liberal culture? We hear, indeed, of "mind among the

spindles," but it is not mind born or taught among the spindles. It is mind brought there from the granite summits of New Hampshire, the green mountains of Vermont, the fruitful hills of Berkshire, the thousand district-schools of New England. We must wait until a generation has grown up among the spindles, before we can tell what effect they will have in sharpening the mental powers and cultivating the intellectual faculties. Count up the number of human beings in Massachusetts alone, with whom six days are mostly days of physical toil and the seventh day a day of physical rest, and the inference cannot well be avoided, that even now, in this paradise of the New World, there is a terrible sacrifice of souls to the senses.

Another fact, which strongly resembles an evil, is to be found in the great number of human beings who, under present arrangements, are out of place. The supposition is to some extent — we care not now to decide exactly to what extent — reasonable, that, since men have various tastes and talents, the design is that they shall get livelihoods in pursuits agreeable to their peculiar endowments. Who imagines it was intended that Shakspeare should follow trade as a business, Milton till the earth for a subsistence, Burns be a financier, Raphael colonel of a regiment, Columbus librarian to the Pope, or Fenelon the discoverer of the passage to India through the Arctic Ocean? Who imagines, in regard to millions of his fellow-beings, that they are in positions where they can make the most and the best of themselves, or can bestow the greatest benefits on their race, by acting out the faculties that are strongest and the tastes that are most predominant? Take a regiment of regular troops, by a cunning application of the "philosophy of clothes" put into glittering livery, so as to look all alike, made to move with mechanical accuracy, — a long line, if the phrase be pardonable, of Siamese twins, brought into being by that prolific mother of legions of abominations, political necessity, and let out by their unnatural parent for a shilling a day to shoot and be shot at, — who believes that these men, one and all of them, were created to shoulder a musket, or that to shoulder a musket is the thing each can best do for himself or the world? At first sight is it not clear that the potent fool, fashion, the soulless tyrant, custom, that ignorance, prejudice, and a false philosophy of human nature, yet hold extensive sway, and drive men into vocations for

which they are not fit, or shut men out from vocations suited to their natural make; and this, too, by the arbitrary mandate, — Work here, go there, or starve, or (what amounts to the same thing) have your respectability called in question? If this be so, and so to some extent certainly it is, then here is another defect in the present for the future to remedy.

Large additions might easily be made to this hasty review of social evils and grievances; but the task would be neither pleasant nor profitable. More than enough has been said to justify the assertion, that more remains to be done on our globe than has yet been done. On the world's highest elevations there are unnumbered diseases and discomforts to be cured and removed. By what agency or agencies is the work of reform to be accomplished? Panaceas to heal all sicknesses of the flesh are not more numerous than the systems devised to reconstruct altogether, or to repair in certain particulars, our social state. From one extreme of opinion to the other, through an endless list of projects, in this day, as in all previous days, hosts of great and little philosophers and philanthropists are busy trying to show how the descendants of Adam may regain the paradise Adam lost, or enter a paradise of which Adam never dreamed. In most, if not in all the plans proposed to improve the condition of humanity, there is, no doubt, some wisdom. But a great truth underlies them all, in our judgment, not yet made as distinctly prominent as it should be; we mean the truth, that only as the interests of *mind* (using the word in its largest sense) are practically preferred, in all scheming and doing, to all other interests, will philanthropy obtain the efficient motive force with which to accomplish its benign ends. Omitting its higher relations, we would do a little, within the small space that remains, to sustain this position, by intimating how its hearty acknowledgment would tend to improve the physical condition of the race.

It will hardly be a digression to pause here for a moment and expose what seems to be the greatest fallacy of the times, — a fallacy which, professing to admit, not unfrequently denies, the paramount claims of mind.

This is the age of trade. The passion for accumulation is the ruling passion. The idol worshipped is property. The only wonder-worker in which many men have faith is commerce. The explanation of this is obvious. The increase of liberty within the last two or three centuries has

brought the prizes of life within reach of the multitude. Meantime, the discovery of new countries, improvements in the art of navigation, and the growth of manufactures have opened boundless fields to enterprise. Hence, as the first wish is to make provision for the animal wants, to get the necessaries and enjoy the luxuries of life, the desire for gain is stimulated, and grows stronger and stronger by indulgence. So King Trade reigns "jure divino" and can do no wrong, if his eulogists and courtiers are to be believed. The argument for any new project is deemed conclusive, when its pecuniary profitableness is ciphered out; and the spirit of humanity is rebuked, if its suggestions seem to affect unfavorably the stock or the cotton market. More than this, philanthropy is to see its work done on the exchange, and by appeals addressed, not to men's consciences, but to men's pockets. It is not, for example, a regard for the sanctity of life, a recognition of the all-embracing law of love, horror at the brutality, savageness, and essential iniquity of the battle-field, — it is not these, one or all of them, but it is commerce, which is fast exorcising the demon of war. Commerce, it is said, has almost realized the idea which the poet, in his wildest fancies, assumed as the very standard of impossibility, and is fettering "strong madness with a cotton thread." Busy traffic coöperates in many ways with benevolence, though unconscious of any purpose to do moral good; just as it encourages genius, learning, and skill, without directly aiming to promote intellectual culture. But in giving traffic, acting as the servant of self-interest or with some vague design of aiding man's highest welfare, all the credit it deserves, care should be taken not to do more, not to deify traffic, lest it turn out in the end more of a devil than a god. King Trade may become the greatest tyrant the world has ever known, and his reign be an unmitigated curse; for the passion which moves him is one that grows grasping and remorseless by unchecked indulgence. Already some of his doings are of a questionable character. Even now he resists the application of strictly Christian tests to his conduct, and cares not to have the full light of the Gospel thrown upon his various doings. His sailors yet mutter of hardships, his miners and operatives complain of too much work and too little pay; his behaviour on the coasts of China indicates no very enlightened moral sense; and his best friends will hardly pretend that he is over-anxious or active to loosen the fetters

of slavery. He needs watching, therefore; for he has in his avarice the motive, and in his wealth the means, of doing incalculable mischief; and incalculable mischief he will do, if allowed to have his own way. It would be unsafe to rely upon him as the great pacificator. Some of his propensities are aggressive, and quite as likely to breed wars as the love of power or the passion for false glory. At any rate, the competition he excites, the luxury he favors, the speculations he suggests, — these and many other of his deeds and dispositions make him a ruler quite as much to be feared as honored.

To be more serious. Whilst the glorious achievements of commerce are not to be overlooked or undervalued; whilst there is sublimity in its fleets, flying like things of life over every sea, and in its enterprise, building highways across every land and creating cities in the wilderness, as by magic power; whilst there is hope in its influence, so constantly stimulating and so richly rewarding diligence and invention, as well as in its power, weaving together with iron ligaments the nations of the earth; whilst, in a word, there is stupendous grandeur and a glorious prophecy in the revolutionizing, subduing, creative force it is sending forth the world over, let not admiration and wonder lead men to forget that the activity of commerce is in great part the activity of a passion whose supremacy in human affairs would be unspeakably dangerous and dreadful. The best prospects of humanity may be as effectually destroyed in the counting-room or the market-place, as they ever were in kings' courts or on bloody battle-fields.

Commerce, then, is not to be trusted with the destinies of the race; neither is it to be taken for granted that whatever increases material wealth and physical prosperity necessarily contributes to the well-being of society. That well-being is insured only as the interests of mind are made paramount. This done, the wonders of to-day will be thrown far into the shade by the vastly greater wonders of the future, and it is not difficult in a conjectural way to indicate how this superior future will be brought about.

In the first place, to prefer the claims of mind would give a popular character and universal diffusion to science, and make common property of the fixed principles, settled laws, demonstrated facts, which are the results of patient experiment and careful induction. A friendship has begun

between science and philanthropy ; and the former is leaving its secret laboratories and academies, ceasing to wait for exclusive patronage in the antechambers of rank and wealth, and entering to some extent into the service of the people, thus commencing an overthrow of the works of ignorant or iniquitous selfishness. It means something, where, at enormous expense, parks are opened as breathing-places for the multitude, by the demolition of blocks of closely packed buildings, in a city like Manchester ; and it means more, where English peers and English gentlemen subscribe liberally, as they have recently done, to such a project, — not as a largess, falling condescendingly, as of old, like the grace of heaven, from the higher class upon the lower, but rather as an honest debt which capital owes, and is ready to pay, to productive labor. Almost at the very outset of what may be called its mission of benevolence, and before it has any clear consciousness of being engaged in a work so divine, science has essentially improved the temporal condition of the many. Every mechanic's wife in the United States can boast of daily luxuries, now become necessary comforts, which England's Elizabeth could not obtain from the love of Leicester, the devotion of Essex, or the semi-piratical expeditions of Sir Francis Drake. The men now live, and are not old, who once sold at a dollar the furniture patch which can be bought to-day for twelve and a half cents a yard. " Bring clean straw or fresh rushes," was the order given, in olden time, from kings' drawing-rooms, where crowned heads were to meet in council ; whilst now the possession of a carpet would hardly be presumptive evidence against the claims of an applicant for charity. Machinery, as all know, has been substituted, to an extent not dreamed of a half-century since, for human bones and muscles. The facilities for intercommunication have been almost miraculously increased ; and improvements of all sorts to relieve man the animal from exhausting toil, and bless him with numberless comforts, have come in crowds, with a rapidity exceeding the magic powers of Aladdin's lamp. These and like things, as the phrase is, speak volumes. And yet they are but the first imperfect offerings of science to the cause of humanity. For what is science, and what is its history as an agent of civilization, but the history of the triumph of mind over matter ? We have only to assume, therefore, a future growth of intelligence corresponding to the past growth, to be justified in predicting a

new creation for society. It is given to man to take matter, knead it, give it form, breathe into it strength, almost animate it, and make of it a servant of all work. It is given to man to do this; and this he is doing. Take the most overburdened lands, — take England, where one at times almost fears that the theory may prove true which implies that Providence creates human beings expressly to kill them off by starvation, — let simple justice legislate in the place of sheer selfishness, and education be encouraged to bring out the full ability of science, and England can nurse her famishing millions into healthful and able-bodied men. Why not? An application of science to agriculture, corresponding with that already made to manufactures, would seem to be nearly all that is requisite to secure this result. And that application will be made. In view of the known triumphs of steam, even the suggestion of a late writer, that artificial heat may be conveyed under ground and gaseous manure injected into the earth, so as to create perpetual summer, is not incredible. These are only rough hints; but they indicate what growth in comfort and plenty may come from the wider spread of knowledge.

This wider spread of knowledge, we next observe, will so diminish the amount of manual labor, and distribute it, as to give all classes time and opportunity for mental culture. The diffusion of intelligence has been commenced, and cannot be stopped; and with that diffusion changes for the better in the condition of men must take place. More brains will be busy with inventions. The day is coming when the nicely adjusted and powerful machinery, now so admired, will seem awkward and tardy when compared with that which shall succeed and supersede it. Who can doubt this, when he contrasts the Indian canoe with those floating palaces shooting like arrows up and down the Hudson and the Mississippi, or the baggage-mule of the Alps with those locomotives flying backwards and forwards, like weaver's shuttles, weaving distant places into contiguous cities? Nor is this all. Science, so to speak, is about to manage in person its more perfect contrivances. In this there is to be a constantly growing economy of both time and strength. Let every sailor be a navigator, every operative comprehend the theory of his trade, every farmer understand chemistry, every builder be an architect, — in a word, in all departments of industry let the well-informed head guide the dexterous hand, —

and there will be gain every way, in the execution of all kinds of work.

In this connection another thought deserves attention. With the admission of the supremacy of mind, and the more equal distribution of knowledge, labor will become honorable, and all be willing to share in it. Not a few social evils are to be traced to the reluctance of many to engage in manual toil. This overcrowds the professions, fills cities with merchants, stimulates the lust of gain, excites ruinous competition and speculation, makes multitudes anxious to live only by their wits, that is, by outwitting their neighbours. Now, why this reluctance? Besides several other causes, there is the still lingering impression that labor is not respectable. The remark of the Roman orator, that "nothing honorable can come out of a workshop," yet receives assent. We hear occasionally from some poor incarnation of vanity, laziness, or selfishness the contemptible sentiment, that large classes must remain in ignorance, to be hewers of wood and drawers of water, for, if educated, those classes will get above their business; thereby implying that their business is only endurable by brutal stupidity. This absurd notion gets a little plausibility from the fact, that in past times the toiling masses have been kept in mental darkness. We listen to it here with pity for the folly that utters it; because in a new country, without a legalized system of caste, where there is little capital, where wealth cannot be hoarded for more than one generation, and where the means of instruction are generally diffused, the laboring classes are comparatively intelligent, and their vocation dignified by the presence of knowledge. Evidently, then, as society advances, by the right division of labor, so as to leave no pampered drones and no overtasked slaves, all work will grow honorable by the education of the workmen. In a community composed entirely of Newtons, Miltons, and Shakspeares, Madame de Staëls, Hannah Mores, and Harriet Martineaus, there would be labor for the hands; mathematicians, poets, and artists would necessarily be their own servants; but who imagines they would feel degraded, or look degraded, when engaged in useful toil? Sir Humphry Davy in his laboratory, and Chantrey in his studio, often appeared as dirty as the dust-heavers and hod-carriers in London streets; but the philosophy of the one and the genius of the other glorified the very dirt. So it is, and so it will be. Intellectual culture and moral worth will con-

fer a nobility to be respected, whether covered with fustian or arrayed in purple and fine linen. Give supremacy to the interests of mind, and it will be as respectable to wield the hammer as to flourish the yard-stick; and learned blacksmiths and poetic weavers will be no greater rarities than eloquent lawyers and graceful scholars.

It might be shown how all that embellishes life and appeals to the sentiments of the sublime and beautiful, all departments of literature, all that gives graceful forms to duty and cheers and elevates the soul with sweetest music, would receive more encouragement from the people educated to enjoy the creations of genius than is now obtained from the patronage of the few, — too often the patronage of an accidental union of vanity and wealth. But no room is left for a topic so fruitful. Besides, more than enough has been said to accomplish our design, which was simply to freshen the conviction which sober thought must produce, that a high Christian civilization is to be advanced, not by stimulating still further that direct reference to material prosperity so characteristic of the times, — not by flattering wealth, which, to increase its own stores, purchases labor and bribes talent, — but by having, from the highest religious considerations, that earnest respect for all minds and all hearts which will make their welfare the first concern of social, as it ought to be the first concern of individual life. Outward prosperity, obtained at the price of human souls, or even of human bodies, however splendid and attractive in appearance, would be turning the earth into a vast whited sepulchre, whose foundation would be falsehood, whose superstructure would be folly.

In anticipations of a better future there is, at least, entertainment; but under that entertainment, like fruit covered by flowers, or strength visible through the transparent beauty and grace of the Apollo, there is a lesson to be pondered. The world is ruled by ideas; and the ruling idea of a given period is usually that upheld by the sentiment of the majority. In the formation of public sentiment, the influence of the humblest is felt. That universal loyalty to mind, which is to hasten on the brighter day, must be brought about by examples of individual allegiance. The great truth applies here, that men work most efficiently for the race when they work wisely for themselves; since there is perfect unity between the highest benevolence and the most enlightened

self-interest. The duty, then, that results from the survey of the present and conjectures as to the future, upon which we have ventured, — a duty radiant, to him who hath an eye to see it, with all the attractiveness of a privilege, — is, to reverence and serve first the human soul, to abolish the slavery of ignorance, to develop that mental and moral strength in the people which can conquer matter and turn a wilderness into a paradise, for the equally adorned and equally happy home of all men. That consummation may be far, very far distant in the coming ages. But cannot the eye of faith see it? — cannot the heart of hope anticipate it? — cannot the hand of love labor for its advent? T. B. F.

Art. II. — REV. SAMUEL RIPLEY.

The age of Mr. Ripley in the ministry, the place which he has filled in his profession and in society, the general estimation in which he was held, the warm attachment of an unusually large circle of personal friends, and his many marked traits of character, make it proper that a somewhat extended notice of him should be given. He was the oldest son of the late venerable Ezra Ripley, D. D., of Concord, and of Phebe, his wife, the widow of Rev. William Emerson, his immediate predecessor, and daughter of Rev. Daniel Bliss, the immediate predecessor of Mr. Emerson, who was distinguished not only for piety and eloquence, but as the associate and warm personal friend of Whitefield. Mr. Ripley was born in Concord, Massachusetts, March 11, 1783, was fitted for college in the public schools of his native town, and graduated at Cambridge, in good standing, in 1804. After teaching a short time in the South, he prepared for the ministry and was ordained, on the 22d of November, 1809, over the Congregational church in Waltham, as successor to the venerable Dr. Cushing. After the death of the late Bernard Whitman, it was proposed that the two Unitarian societies in Waltham should be united into one, under the pastoral care of Mr. Ripley, associated with a colleague. Accordingly, on the 27th of October, 1841, Mr. George F. Simmons was settled as colleague. After a short ministry he resigned his office, and Mr. Thomas Hill was ordained as

his successor. Thinking it too great a burden for the society to support two ministers, Mr. Ripley resigned his salary and all responsibleness as pastor over the society at Waltham before his first colleague was settled, and soon after took the pastoral charge of the Unitarian society in Lincoln. In the spring of 1846 he removed to Concord, to his paternal homestead. He died suddenly in his carriage, of disease of the heart, on his way home from the railroad depot, in the midst of his children, on the 24th of November, 1847, at the age of sixty-four. The simple rites of his funeral took place in Concord, in the church in which he had been baptized, hallowed by sixty-three years' preaching of a venerable father. Just as his remains were lowered into the tomb, the sun, which had been veiled through the day, broke forth and cast a flood of light over the scene, as if pointing to that other light that shines on the Christian's grave, and then sank below the horizon, an emblem of the departed spirit, that had left these earthly scenes in darkness, but carried its light, warmth, and genial influences to gladden other regions.

Into this brief record are crowded the principal events in the life of a devoted minister of Christ, a public-spirited citizen, a warm and whole-hearted friend, a head of a family "given to hospitality," the tenderest of husbands and fathers. In reviewing the passages of his instructive life, our thoughts first revert to his childhood in that "old manse" rendered classic by the pen of Hawthorne. We see him even then pausing in his sports, and "attuning his meditations to the sighs and gentle murmurs, and deep and solemn peals, of the wind among the lofty tops of the trees, in the variety of whose natural utterances he could find something accordant with every state of his soul, whether of tenderness or reverential fear." We see him bending over the margin of that river "in which each tree and rock and every blade of grass are pictured in ideal beauty, ... and all the sky glows downward at his feet; the rich clouds float through the unruffled bosom of the stream, like heavenly thoughts through a peaceful heart." It is pleasant to think of him, sporting in the orchard in a quiet afternoon of early autumn, beholding the loaded branches, admiring the rich tints, and tasting the delicious fruits, while his heart swells with the "idea of the infinite generosity and exhaustless bounty on the part of Mother Nature." Well did he profit by the lesson. The long halls and antique chambers of that

old manse, too, which "a priest had built, a priest had succeeded to, and other priestly men from time to time had dwelt in," * must have had their influence on his young imagination. But more than all the scenes of nature or art must have been the influence of his father, that true son of the Pilgrims, so manly in character, so sturdy in principle, so devout, so hospitable, so public-spirited, so full of deep affections. In the abundant hospitalities of that home, where wit and anecdote and "flow of soul" were tempered by wisdom and reverence; in the family devotions, morning and evening, which were always as fresh and heartfelt as the family affections; in the personal intercourse and counsels of such a father, with whom at ninety he was in relations of intimacy and tenderness that belong to youth, he must have early formed those tastes, and gained that estimation of the ministerial character and office, by which he was distinguished. There was one other place whence, possibly, he derived deeper and holier impressions than from all others. His mother was an invalid, and confined to her chamber most of her life. Her complaints were of such a nature as left her faculties and affections almost unimpaired. She was elegant in person, a perfect lady, of warm affections and lively imagination. To her chamber the whole family repaired, morning and evening, for devotion and social enjoyment. And it was the testimony of all of them, that these were the bright spots of the day. The glow of joy that warmed the expressions of father and son, when they spoke of these seasons after long years, told of their beauty and power. And from scenes where religion, even under circumstances of sickness and privation, mingled so naturally with all that is bright and beautiful and tender in life, must the son have gained much of that union of freedom, naturalness, and cheerfulness with stern principle and deep piety, which marked his character.

It was Mr. Ripley's fortune to be settled over a society never large, and which felt itself able to give only a very small salary. He early associated with his profession another kindred pursuit, — teaching. In this his labors were greatly lightened, and his school soon acquired a position among the very first in the United States, through the assistance of the singularly gifted and highly educated woman

* *Mosses from an Old Manse*, p. 2, etc.

who shared his domestic life. Here was laid the foundation of many of the finest minds and characters in the country. From this source were derived mainly the means of a liberal style of living, of a generous hospitality, of great beneficence, and of a competence on retiring from the pastoral office. And yet no man seemed to attend to the duties of his office more faithfully. He visited his people, attended the sick, was at all ordinations, meetings of the Ministerial Association, Temperance and Sunday School Conventions; and no one seemed to put a higher estimate on the ministry, or was more jealous of its honor, or more strenuous for its faithfulness. After many years, a manufacturing village sprung up in Waltham. From the different character and the little sympathy of this portion of the population with the rest of the town, it was thought proper to establish a new Unitarian society. The readiness with which Mr. Ripley acquiesced in this, his generous kindness to the young and popular minister, the warm friendship between them, evinced by the glowing tribute of Mr. Ripley at the funeral of Mr. Whitman, place in a very pleasing light his magnanimity. When the people had become more assimilated, and, Mr. Whitman having been removed by death, it was thought best that the two societies should be united and Mr. Ripley share the office of pastor with another, although his society wished him to stay with them, and his interests and associations leaned strongly that way, yet, believing that the interests of the town required the union, he readily gave his assent. And when the society did not feel able to pay two sufficient salaries, he cheerfully resigned the whole of his in favor of his colleague, retaining still the relation of pastor, and performing all the duties whenever the society was destitute, although in justice to them we should add that they did not allow him to render such services gratuitously. Mr. Ripley was a Federalist and a freemason, and on politics and masonry, as on all other subjects, he had decided opinions and expressed them publicly and boldly. The consequence was, that some became offended and alienated. It was a singular triumph of his goodness, that almost every one of these opponents, if they had not become reconciled before, on their death-beds, sent for him, even after he had left town, to come and prepare their spirits to pass through the last great change. Long after he left Waltham, he made frequent visits there to fulfil the duties of a school committee-man, and of a pastor to those desiring it,

thereby showing his cordial interest in the people, and theirs in him.

When he saw his society in the hands of an able and efficient pastor, although still retaining his school, he began to look around for another field in which to exercise his ministerial gifts, as if he had been a young man without employment. The Unitarian society in Lincoln, recently established, being small and requiring encouragement, was just the place for him, and a permanent connection was soon formed. In the spring of 1846, he concluded to give up his school in Waltham, and retire to his ancestral home in Concord. The beauty of the place, its rich associations, the cordial reception of his old townsmen the companions of his youth, the delightful pursuits of the garden, the orchard, and the field, and the overflowing hospitalities of olden time, with the plans and prospects of the future, made this part of his life one holiday. You might hear him singing and whistling about his house and fields, as if he had been the most light-hearted young farmer just settled in life. Yet this was not his business, but his relaxation. He was deeply interested in all the moral reforms of the day, and gave his presence and his aid wherever there was a prospect of doing good. But his affections centred now, especially, on his flock in Lincoln. In the language of one of them, "The driving storm, the drifted snow, or intense cold, never kept him from his post; and though he resided five miles from meeting, the people had never to wait for him a moment." "Instant in season and out of season," he was always ready to visit the sick, to administer comfort and consolation to those in trouble and affliction. Wherever he heard the call of duty, or saw the hope of usefulness, there he went, and wherever he was, he seemed a minister of God, "perfect and entire, wanting nothing, but thoroughly furnished unto every good work." Whatever the weather, he attended the meetings of the Sunday school teachers and of the Sewing Circle, and made frequent parochial visits, so as to look in upon every family of his flock every few weeks. He gave up the long anticipated pleasure of attending the late Convention in Salem, because one or two of his congregation were ill and needed his presence. He felt a personal interest in every member of the society.

"His ready smile a parent's warmth expressed,
Their welfare pleased him, and their cares distressed;
To them his heart, his love, his griefs, were given."

This was the more remarkable, as from the terms of his engagement such activity was neither required nor expected; much of it, and the best part, was purely a labor of love. He had also arrived at that age when men feel justified in relaxing their exertions. The attractions of his home, of his visiters, and of his beautiful place were, moreover, such as might have wholly absorbed the interest of a common man. Nor did this faithfulness fall upon an unfruitful soil. Rarely have all the members of a society, young and old, been more attached to their minister. His sudden death touched every heart with a grief, tender, deep, silent, as when a parent is taken. It was evinced at the funeral, on the next Sabbath, by the drooping head and the trickling tears of nearly every one of the congregation.

Mr. Ripley's constitution inclined him to action, rather than meditation,—to be a practical man, rather than a scholar. He had a strong native good sense, which saw at a glance the real points of character in persons, and the available aspects of circumstances and subjects. In the words so happily applied to his venerable father, "He would put his faculties upon what came before them with a sort of honest strength, which showed any thing but a want of power." But it was of the intuitive and discursive kind, that belongs to the practical man, rather than that connected and patient thinking which marks the metaphysician and philosopher. Mr. Ripley never rested until he had enacted his thought. He loved to look at truth clothed in flesh and blood, rather than after it had undergone an intellectual dissection. Still, he put a high value upon the labors of the metaphysician, the theologian, and the general scholar, and could skilfully avail himself of their results. And, amidst all his multiform employments, he never forsook his study, but kept up much of the habits and tastes of the scholar. If his thoughts were redolent of the spirit of real life, they showed that they had been born of meditation. His mind was well stored with the current theology and literature of the day. He had a moral discernment, true by nature, and well trained in the school of Christ. Any thing unfair, oblique, or bordering on dishonesty, shocked him. The blood would mantle to his cheeks, and he would give vent to his feelings without regard to persons. He was remarkable for his openness and candor. The presence of a person, who had excited a strong emotion of admiration or disapprobation, could never restrain

him from a decided and even abrupt expression of it. He sometimes violated, in this way, the conventional rules of courtesy; but his bluntness had this merit, that none doubted his genuine feeling. It had the still greater merit of making the rebuke or encouragement of an honest heart *tell* on all of evil or good that appeared in social life.

Mr. Ripley was generous to his heart's core. This trait showed itself in his hospitality. His whole nature never was in such high and genial action as when surrounded by a large circle of guests. What was said of the "old manse" in the days of his father was equally true after he returned to it. "No horse from the Eastern country" (or from out of town) "would go by his gate." It showed itself in his charities.

> "His house was known to all the vagrant train.
> Careless their merits or their faults to scan,
> His pity gave ere charity began."

The only dissatisfaction he ever expressed, after returning to Concord, was, that his restricted income diminished his charities. The talents and success of his brethren in the ministry were rejoiced in as heartily when they exceeded, as when they fell short of his own. He never looked upon his young colleagues as persons coming to steal the hearts of the people from him; but, in the words of one of them, "he was always a father to them." And we cannot forbear adding, in the beautiful words of a friend: — "I may also truly say that it was from him we learned the possibility of what has so often been denied, — that the happiness of the conjugal relation might be unimpaired, though the wife were the object of admiring reverence, instead of tender condescension."

As might be inferred from what we have said, Mr. Ripley was eminently social. He could never meet a human face, although it was a child's, in the street, that his social feelings did not flow out in kind, humorous, and hearty expressions, and glow in his open beaming face. He was the best illustration of the words of the wise man, — "As in water face answereth to face, so the heart of man to man." As, in his own quiet river, "the rich clouds float through the unruffled bosom of the stream," so all the various moods of feeling in his fellow-beings were reflected back from the depths of his sympathetic nature with a softened beauty and a warmer glow. He often surprised his friends by the ex-

hibition of wit and humor, as well as by lively anecdote and pointed expressions, that never suffered a moment to hang heavily in his presence. In him was fulfilled another saying of the wise man, — "As iron sharpeneth iron, so a man sharpeneth the countenance [faculties] of his friend." It was not until he came into society that he seemed entirely himself. At the risk of trespassing on private correspondence, we must quote from one who had known him for many years, and than whom there could not be a better judge. Beginning at his first introduction, when a young man, she says: — "At first we stood on our dignity, but some home truth or lively jest soon brought us to a compromise, and from that day he took possession of a place in our regard which he never vacated. During the frequent interviews we have enjoyed with him, I have no recollection of ever having passed a dull minute in his society. The light of a cheerful countenance, the prompt repartee, the glowing eulogy on absent friends, an unslumbering vigilance in detecting any absurdity in our opinions or statements, produced the liveliest excitement, and kept us always on the alert in his presence, so that his visits were an unfailing gala-season. His most unceremonious speeches were tempered with a good-humor and archness, which made them preferable to the most elaborate compliments, and now gild the memory of our intercourse with him as something distinct from the common courtesies of friendship." From these qualities, and his tender humanity, and quick sympathy, united with a deep piety, we can judge of the character of his parochial visits, and readily account for the deep hold he had on the hearts of his people.

As a preacher Mr. Ripley was just what we should expect from this view of his character, — not learned, but full of the fruits of observation and experience, — not sentimental and imaginative, but full of humanity and a devout spirit, — not speculative, "with the wisdom of words," but bringing the Gospel home, by his strong sense and manly experience, to the "business and bosoms" of his hearers. Intellectual acuteness and elaborate sentiment, compared with these qualities, are what the polished and unmeaning courtesies of fashionable life are to the spontaneous utterances of the heart of a friend. We are confirmed in this judgment by the testimony of a very competent hearer of Mr. Ripley, who says, — "His preaching was Scriptural, plain, direct, and

practical, — never fearing to offend, or hesitating about the likes or dislikes of the audience; and, withal, there was great earnestness and sincerity about it. You never suspected him of uttering sentiments that he did not feel the full force of himself, or of saying or doing any thing to be seen or heard of men. There was a great propriety, a harmony, a uniform excellence, a beautiful consistency, about all his performances."

And now we must take leave of him with the feelings of the friends of an Apostle at their parting interview, sorrowing most of all that we shall "see his face no more." It is a sad thought, that we shall see his face, and hear his voice, and feel the warm grasp of his hand no more in the public assembly, in the religious festival, in the social walk, in his own happy and hospitable home. We can fully sympathize with the inmates of that home, and appreciate their loss. Our first feeling at a bereavement like this is, that a Being of infinite benevolence could hardly dispense with such an agent in this world of sin and sorrow. But He can raise up other and better agents, and it should be our desire and prayer and effort, as it was Elisha's, that the mantle of the departing man of God may fall on us. B. F.

Art. III. — THE CLAIMS OF THE MINISTRY.

At the present time, when an unusual degree of attention is directed among us to our own position as a branch of the Christian Church, it may be well to introduce some reflections on a kindred subject. We would speak, then, of the claims of the ministry, especially among Unitarians, on those who are about to select their pursuit in life.

To young men, who, having nearly completed their preliminary education, look forth upon the world in some uncertainty as to which of its various paths they shall hereafter tread, possessed of moderately good constitutions, respectable talents and attainments, virtuous character, and religious faith, these remarks are particularly addressed. Perhaps, however, they may present to others some considerations of a useful kind. To members of the clerical profession who may be unduly depressed by its burdens, and to parish-

ioners who suppose that a pastor's life is one bright day of indolent repose, they may suggest some thoughts calculated to remove their respective errors. Though advocating the claims of the ministry, we would not urge them unfairly. Rather would we exhibit, in clear view, the disadvantages to which the profession is subject, that we may do something towards removing them, where circumstances permit, and that those who enter this field of labor may be prepared to encounter its unavoidable difficulties.

There are some, however, whom we would not include in this appeal. There are those to whom, from a decided tendency to consumption, the choice of a studious occupation is suicidal; there are those to whom, from natural disadvantages either of mind or of utterance, the selection of such a profession would be certain failure. Let such forbear. Above all would we address this counsel to those who cannot, in view of their future calling, rise to any higher thoughts than such as are connected with its pecuniary results, to whom there is no attractiveness in the idea of doing good, no pleasure in the conception of being "fellow-workers with God." Let them select other employments; they have no call to this. No. Beyond all other motives, so far beyond them as to exclude them from comparison, in the mind of him who worthily desires to enter the profession of the ministry, should be the purpose of doing good, in the noblest, the most god-like sense of that expression. To serve God by leading his wandering children back to him, this is the great object of the ministry; this should be regarded as its highest privilege, its noblest reward. If, then, in what follows, we should appear to dwell at undue length on other considerations, it will not be because they are regarded as of equal importance in themselves, but that we may meet the objections which are most commonly urged, and which sometimes, being considered unanswerable, induce young men to turn away from the profession without a fair examination of its claims.

The very lowest of these objections is, that the ministry does not furnish its members with sufficient means of support. This argument claims our first attention, according to the well-known rules of logical arrangement, for the very reason that it is the lowest.

There are, we admit, no high prizes of fortune presented to the successful in this line of life. Large salaries are paid by very few churches, and the largest are but moderate,

compared with the compensation rendered to the most eminent talent in other departments of labor. Ever may it be so ! Never may the office of the Christian teacher be desecrated in our country, as it has been in others, by encouraging men to enter it in the hope of amassing wealth ! We would not circumscribe the justice or the liberality of an opulent community within narrow limits. We would not say that any salaries now given are too large, or that they should never be increased. The compensation of the pastor should bear such a proportion to the wealth of his flock, that neither they nor he should have cause to be painfully conscious of a disparity between them. But the *cent. per cent.* of the speculator, and the thousands at a single fee that are sometimes gained by a few eminent lawyers, should ever be, as they are now, without parallel among the experiences of the minister of Christ.

But if the clerical profession offers less dazzling prizes than other occupations, it promises, on the other hand, a support more certain, more regular, and more speedily attained, than can be expected by the student of medicine or of law. There are, of course, among those educated for the ministry, some who fail to find a living by means of it. But these are exceptions, while the general rule is, that the student, as soon as he leaves the Divinity School, finds occupation enough to support him as a single man ; and in a few months, or at most in a year or two, enters on that moderate competence which is considered as sufficient for the head of a family. Very few men of property enter the ministry ; yet early marriages are more common in this profession than in any other. The young lawyer or physician has, in most instances, to rise by slow degrees. For some years, his emoluments will hardly furnish a support to himself alone, and it must be still longer before he can ask another to share his improving prospects. Some of the most eminent men in these professions have remained in obscurity and poverty till hope seemed to have no reasonable ground of continuance, when some Providential opportunity, happily seized, became the basis of their future distinction. The young clergyman, on the other hand, has his opportunity at once ; and if his destiny is (as must be the case with some) to fail utterly of success as a preacher, it is a destiny which he learns very soon. If disappointment comes, it comes while he still has youth and strength to meet it, while the

studies he has pursued and the customs of society render it easier for him than for others to pass to the kindred occupation of a teacher, a business honorable and useful, and in which the field for employment is always open.

The competence, too, of the minister is not only early attained, but it is regular in its amount. So long as the settlement lasts, the pastor knows what he is to receive, and if he lives beyond his income, it is with his eyes open to the fact. The income is, indeed, in many cases small, while the "gentle nurture" of the pastor and his family makes them feel its deficiencies more than some others would. Yet nearly all congregations suppose that they give their clergymen enough to live upon with economy; and nearly all clergymen among us do thus live, with only the slight addition to their income derived from such occasional extra labors as are consistent with the customs of the profession. Few, it is true, can leave any but the smallest pecuniary provision for their families. But their children inherit an honored name, a good education, and the gratitude of the community. What need they more?

Such has been, and still is, the ministry in a pecuniary point of view; offering a modest competence to those who enter it, and that with some peculiar advantages in point of certainty, regularity, and early attainment, as well as of the general interest of the community in the families of its deceased members. It may be urged, that the custom, which has recently become so common, of frequent dissolutions of the pastoral relation, must, if continued, modify these characteristics of the profession in some degree. The immediate result, however, is not very injurious as regards the support of the clerical body; for, as dismissions have become more common, they have ceased to affect, as they formerly did, the character and prospects of the removed ministers. He who has left one parish is usually ere long settled in another; and though the change is painful to his feelings, and injurious to the work which probably was prospering in his hands as well as ought to have been expected, yet he is not in the particular instance a pecuniary loser to any considerable amount.

We trust, too, that the tendency spoken of has reached its height, and that it must soon decline. Of the causes which produced it, two may be mentioned; the division of our small towns into more religious societies than they can

well support, and the existence at present of some topics in controversy, on moral subjects, of an unusually irritating description. Both of these causes will be modified by time. Our towns are increasing in population and wealth, and the right of the clergy to speak in a manly, if it be a calm and Christian manner, on all great moral questions, is becoming better understood and more generally conceded. Those churches, too, which have had a rapid succession of ministers, settled in haste and dismissed in equal haste, cannot but hunger after the old permanence, and be willing to endure something short of perfection in their pastor for the sake of having him their familiar friend.

Nor should it be forgotten that changes in the ministerial relation are not always the result of wrong conduct on the part of the people. Ministers are sometimes in fault, either for remissness in duty, which affords just ground for their removal, or for impatience of advice, and a restless, dissatisfied spirit, leading them to resign their situations with undue precipitancy. Cases also occur in which the separation is proposed by the pastor himself, justified in his own opinion, and perhaps in that of others, in accepting a more advantageous position. Instances like these, in which the minister either suffers by his own fault, or in which his situation is actually improved by the change, cannot fairly be numbered among the proofs of the instability and consequent undesirableness of the pastoral office.

Before we leave this part of the subject, the inquiry naturally occurs, Why should the ministry be so seldom selected by those whose possession of property would render their situation in it peculiarly independent? Of those who, inheriting wealth, still feel that it becomes them not to live in utter idleness, why do so few choose a profession which is in so many respects the noblest that man can enter? And if it be observed, that the general condition of the clergy is one of comparative poverty, let it be also noticed, that very few among the members of the body bring any thing with them, on entering it, but their own energies. The legal profession is crowded with those who possess more or less of inherited property, many of them so independent in means that they neither seek nor care for more than the title of lawyer; the clerical is filled with men who have with difficulty found the means of procuring a college

education. Yet these in general are able to support themselves and their families in comfort.

We have next to view the claims of the ministry in relation to the health of those who assume its labors. Here, as before, we must begin with some admissions. There is much illness in the profession. Many of its brightest ornaments have died young. Others have been compelled by ill health to seek different employments. Yet, when we look at the nature of the occupation, we see nothing in it so very overwhelming in amount or in character as to render this mode of life peculiarly fatal to men of good constitutions and common prudence. The fact is, that an unusual number among those entering the profession have not good constitutions to begin with; and a large number, both of these and others, do not exercise that prudence which good sense and duty alike seem to require.

No other occupation probably, in proportion to the number of those who engage in it, is so frequently entered by persons in delicate health. The pale, feeble boy, who cannot cope successfully with his fellows in sport, finds amusement for the hours of fatigue and of frequent illness in books and in thought. Hence his mind acquires a tendency favorable to religious contemplation, while the ambition to engage in the strife of politics or of law is checked by the consciousness of physical inability to endure the arduous contest. If such a person, entering the ministry, is early summoned to leave the labors of his chosen calling, let it not be charged on that calling that it has broken his strength. He would have died as young, probably, had his choice been different. It was his feeble constitution that occasioned his choice, not his choice that enfeebled his constitution.

Again, of those who enter the profession, too many, whatever may be their natural vigor, neglect those precautions to which they ought, as conscientious, Christian men, to attend. In many cases, an impression of the sacredness of their work, a high feeling of devotion to a noble object, leads to a disregard of consequences which seem only to affect themselves. But it is one thing to meet necessary dangers with firmness, and quite another to rush into needless and useless peril; nor does the praise bestowed on the former justify the latter. The holiest purpose will not guard the preacher against an attack of *bronchitis* so well as a careful observance of the rules for the management of

the voice, rules which he can obtain of any good elocutionist or physician; and if he deliberately postpones the preparation of his sermons till Saturday, and thus accumulates upon two days and the intervening night the labor and excitement which ought to be distributed through the week, he has his own imprudence alone to blame, if the term of his life is shortened, and its hours saddened by disease. Neglect of exercise, — late hours, — the excessive use of tobacco, — such causes as these will produce their natural results, though the subject of them may be faithful to every duty except those which he owes to himself. With a moderately good constitution to begin with, regular habits, and a dependence rather on steady industry than on occasional high excitement, with a conscientious though not a finical care of health, the profession of the ministry may be sustained with honor and with comfort as long as most other employments. All have their peculiar trials; the law brings its strong excitement, its angry contests, and frequently its intense study; political life calls to still more of strife, and to trials of feeling which must deeply affect the health of any one possessed of keen sensibility; the medical profession summons its members to great labor, to contact with every form of disease, and strong excitement of the sympathetic emotions. Even in manual labor, generally considered so healthful, the poisonous fumes to which the painter is exposed, and the penetrating dust which the stone-cutter is obliged to inhale, frequently shorten the lives of those engaged in such employments.

Thus far, desiring to present the profession of divinity in an attractive, though not an unfair light, we have been obliged to defend it against objections, rather than to urge its positive advantages. In what remains, our task is more agreeable. We are not yet prepared, however, to consider it from the highest point of view. We have now to regard it in its bearing on comfort, peace of mind, and enjoyment of life, among those who have devoted to it their powers. What is the situation of a minister of Christ not unworthy of his calling? No member of the community is regarded at the same time with such high respect and such kindly personal interest. We sometimes hear it said that the old reverence for the clergy has passed away. It was right, then, that it should pass away; for a regard greater than that which still exists must have partaken of the nature of super-

stition. There is still quite enough of the "greetings in the market-places, and uppermost rooms at feasts," and the titles of "Reverend" and "Doctor" approach quite near enough to the forbidden name of "Rabbi." Far be it from us to tempt any to enter the profession by the love of such empty distinctions. Rather would we caution those who enter against the temptation to vanity which the outward respect paid to their calling may present to them. But it is not of mere ceremonious observance that we now speak. No man ought to be indifferent to the opinion and feelings respecting him of those among whom he lives. They constitute an important element in the comfort or discomfort, the happiness or unhappiness, of his life. What, then, we may ask again, is the situation of the pastor? In learning, he is known to be the superior of most of those around him; of their regard for his talents they have given the best proof, in inviting him to the station he occupies; the same may be said of their confidence in his moral and religious character; while, as years pass by, he becomes the object of a more tender interest in every household circle among his flock. He has pronounced the nuptial and the baptismal blessing, and sympathized in their joy; he has buried their dead, and has comforted mourners in their affliction. In sickness he has been near them, and led them to serious self-communion or to sustaining aspiration. Such are the associations that bind the pastor to the hearts of his people. And not among his own parishioners only will he be esteemed, if he be worthy of esteem. The old bitterness of controversy has now so far passed away, that our people no longer feel — if they ever felt — that a minister must be a bad man, because he leads the devotions of a Unitarian or an Orthodox flock; and even those who, in their zeal for particular objects of reform, denounce the clergy as the chief supporters of all that is evil in the world, will generally make a good-natured exception in favor of one whose life gives evidence of his conscientiousness. There are, indeed, trials which the minister may be called to bear. The reproof which he bestows in love may not be received in kindness; the denunciation he utters against national sins may attract reproach, or his silence be blamed as timidity; he may have to hear criticisms on his sermons, or to see an unspoken criticism in the diminishing numbers or the altered looks of his hearers. "The disciple is not above his master, nor the servant

above his lord"; and our great Leader uttered the words, "Woe unto you when all men shall speak well of you, for so did their fathers to the false prophets." We have already spoken of the unhappy tendency, too prevalent in our churches, to "put away" their ministers "for every cause." It meets us at every turn, as the chief objection to what we would urge in favor of the profession. Yet even these removals take place, frequently, with a continuance of personal respect on the part of the people towards their retiring pastor. They are often the work of a few persons, who, having become offended, with or without cause, refuse their contributions to sustain the ministry. The rest of the society, perhaps already heavily taxed, rather than meet an increased expense, acquiesce in the resignation which the pastor is thus compelled to offer them. The minister, under such circumstances, will be comforted by assurances of a kindly sentiment towards himself from quarters where perhaps he had least expected them. Often, too, when he has with sad forebodings, and in obedience to a stern sense of duty, preached on some theme which he felt was likely to give offence, may he be surprised and cheered to meet the most decided approval from those he had supposed most likely to resent his conduct. There is something in manly sincerity which commands the respect even of those who disapprove the sentiments it expresses; and many are right-minded enough to prefer the reproof of a friend to the fawning of a flatterer.

Compare, then, the ministry with other professions, in regard to the satisfaction which its members may derive from the good feeling of the community. Political life, into which so many eagerly press, is a scene of continual altercation and detraction. The law has its fierce contests; and the rivalries of physicians with each other, together with the harsh judgment which is often passed upon their conduct in cases where they have failed of success, may be as painful as the similar trials of the clergyman.

We turn from the public to the domestic scene, and glance for a moment at the minister in his family. It is one advantage of the clerical profession, that, to a degree beyond most other callings, it gives to its members the regulation of their own time, leaving it in their power to spend a large portion of it in the society of their families. The wife of the naval officer, even of the highest rank, must forbear the enjoyment

of his company for years together; while, at every nightly blast she hears, her thoughts turn to the dangers to which he is exposed. The politician must leave his young son without a father's guidance, while he is engaged at a distance in the engrossing cares of public life. Even the physician must be ready, at every hour, to obey the summons of professional duty. The pastor's usual occupations are regular, and are foreseen. They are seldom overburdening in amount, provided they are not suffered to accumulate. A parish of a hundred families may be visited throughout, three times every year, by making one call each day; and two hours, every day in the week, are surely a sufficient allowance for the composition of sermons. If the regular and indispensable duties of the profession be thus provided for with system and punctuality, there will remain ample time for that study which is requisite to preserve in its freshness the vigor of the mind, and to maintain an acquaintance with the progress of theological science. There will be, indeed, to every minister, from time to time, additional occupation in the attention required by cases of sickness and bereavement, preparation for lectures and religious conferences, and in other labors for his parish or the community. But such engagements as these he can generally proportion to his strength. Of his studies, as well as of his relaxations, his own home is the scene. He has thus the power to watch the progress of his children, to cultivate their virtues and restrain their faults. The remarkable manner in which Providence has blest the efforts of many of our clergymen, in the excellent character of their families, shows that this advantage has been valued and used aright.

There is scarce any calling in which that divine purpose of the institution of marriage, that the wife should be a "help-meet" for the husband, is so fully answered as in that we are considering. The business of the lawyer and that of the physician are such, that neither can receive direct aid in his avocation from his companion, and the details of either occupation would be unfit for domestic converse and sympathy. Far different is it in the profession of the ministry. The themes of thought are such as, though requiring for their full discussion the knowledge and culture of a mind trained for the purpose, can yet be shared with interest by any intelligent and religious person; the field of labor in visiting the poor and the sick is one in which the wife can most

effectually coöperate with her husband, while scarce any one can exert a more favorable influence upon the state of social feeling in the congregation. She shares the facilities of her husband's professional standing without its formal responsibleness; and though she may sometimes find that those around her are unreasonable in their requirements or troublesome in their curiosity, she will meet from the more intelligent hearty good-will and respectful coöperation.

How rich is the blessing which the clerical profession confers upon its members, in its adaptation to meet those sorrows which must at times be experienced by all! The pastor's common task is consolation. His frequent experience teaches him to extract, for the good of the afflicted, those considerations from every instance of suffering, which shall point out the wisdom and goodness of God in permitting it to take place, and lead the feelings of the sufferer to Him in submissive trust. When death invades his own domestic circle, the affliction comes not, if he has been faithful and sincere, to one untaught to meet it. The words he has spoken to others recur to his mind to bring consolation in his own hour of need, and they with whom he has prayed in suffering are, he knows, offering their prayers now for him.

"When sorrow all our heart would ask,
We need not shun our daily task,
And hide ourselves for calm;
The herbs we seek to heal our woe
Familiar by our pathway grow,
Our common air is balm.

"Around each pure domestic shrine
Bright flowers of Eden bloom and twine,
Our hearths are altars all;
The prayers of hungry souls and poor,
Like armed angels at the door,
Our unseen foes appall." *

Still, the objection will be felt by some, that the ministry is a sad, a solemn profession, — that the black vestments of its members well correspond to the gloomy thoughts with which they must be constantly engaged, — that the lighter pleasures of life are denied them, — that their studies are

* Keble.

connected with the most abstruse and uninviting subjects, and the scene of their labors is with the sick and the dying. The mind by which such objections are strongly felt it would be useless to attempt to convince of their futility ; there are various tastes, and it would be by no means desirable to induce those to enter the profession to whose temperament its necessary restrictions and trials are peculiarly repugnant. But we would not have these restrictions and trials exaggerated. The pleasures which custom has interdicted to the clergy are those which most persons of manly character lose their interest in, when they have passed the period of youth ; and the peculiar studies and active duties of the profession, if of a serious description, may compare well in point of interest and of elevating and cheering thought with those of medicine and law. Scriptural criticism presents a field replete with that pleasure which is derived from the acquisition of knowledge, the clearing up of what was dark, and the rendering of rough places smooth. Doctrinal theology, if it produces wonder at the strange fancies which men have been led to entertain, still opens paths of investigation, interesting alike by the novelty and the importance of the regions through which they lead. No course of study can present a greater diversity than that which lies before the theologian. Here he has occasion for the patient toil of the philologist, or the deep research of the metaphysician ; there, for the refined taste of the lover of poetry. Now his attention is called to the details of ecclesiastical history ; now, to the comparison of arguments, and the exercise of his logical powers, in judging between differing systems of doctrine. At one time, he ascends in lofty but lonely contemplation ; at another, comes again to earth, and, looking on its struggling and erring multitudes, brings the energies of Christian philanthropy to bear upon the work of their advancement and improvement. Whether there be not enough to cheer and elevate the mind, in such rich and varied intellectual occupation, may be left to the judgment of any fair and serious inquirer. And if the place of the minister must often be by the bed of sickness and in the house of mourning, is there nothing but what is saddening in such scenes ? The hours which the pastor finds most cheering, most strengthening to himself are often those thus spent. The passage has been often quoted, but its beauty is not lost, in which Goldsmith describes the village pastor's intercourse with the dying : —

"Beside the bed where parting life was laid,
And sorrow, guilt, and pain by turns dismayed,
The reverend champion stood. At his control
Despair and anguish fled the struggling soul;
Comfort came down the trembling wretch to raise,
And his last faltering accents whispered praise."

Often, in his intercourse with those approaching the close of life, the minister receives as much of cheering and elevating influence as he imparts. He witnesses the calm and cheerful trust of the truly pious, and the unaffected humility of those whose lives, wellnigh faultless in the sight of others, their own enlightened consciences recognize as imperfect. The idea of death is deprived of every terror with which unreasonable timidity has invested it, as he sees the reality met with firmness and cheerful faith.

To a young minister, the duty of making pastoral visits is indeed one of the most difficult branches of his employment. It is hard to find the proper medium between the formal or obtrusive introduction of religious subjects, and a silence with regard to them which would be unsatisfactory to his own conscience and often to those whom he visits. But when this first difficulty has been overcome, there is much that is gratifying to the pastor in this department of his duty. There is none which brings him into such near communion of spirit with the people of his charge, or which tends so much to combine their respect for him with the warmer feeling of personal affection.

Among the advantages of the clerical profession, a high place must be given to its tendency to secure the moral and religious advancement of its members. It has, indeed, its peculiar temptations. Vanity, pride, indolence, sectarian bitterness, are evils against which it is the duty of the minister to guard himself. But a feeling of the high and sacred character of the profession, especially when that feeling is as generally diffused in a community as it is in ours, must be of itself a powerful check to the influence of temptation. The clergyman's manual for constant use is the Bible; the models which are most naturally offered to his emulation, apart from those of the sacred volume, are the characters of deceased members of his own profession, whose eminence has consisted mainly in their virtues. His common business in the study is to search for, and present in as forcible a manner as he can, the most elevating thoughts and the most

powerful inducements to a holy life. Even if he neglects both private and domestic devotion, the unworthy pastor must utter his own rebuke in every Sabbath's ministrations. He must then be blinded indeed, if he do not see his errors, and hardened indeed, if he do not endeavour to correct them.

The young man, in whose view the usefulness of the station he is to occupy is a matter of small moment, is one whom we would not urge to enter the ministry of Christ. Not such, we trust, are they who will read these pages. If, then, after all that has been said, the clerical profession should still present an uninviting aspect, we have yet a plea to urge. To a generous mind, the spirit of self-devotion to a noble cause has power to engage every effort in labors otherwise unattractive. What if the pay be small, and the danger to life be great? Such considerations as these cannot keep the patriot from the service of his country; shall they keep the Christian from the service of mankind and of his Creator? The ministry of Christ does not offer the prize of wealth; and if it can confer earthly fame, it is with the warning, that the gift is dangerous, and must be received in the spirit of humility. But it does confer the crown of usefulness. The minister is by his office the friend, the counsellor, and guide of those among whom he dwells. He may be the intelligent promoter of every good object; like Oberlin, he may make the desert bloom, or, like Tuckerman, direct the efforts of Christian benevolence for the relief of poverty. Is there not enough in such power, and the application of it to such ends, to engage the feelings in a struggle too noble for the name of ambition, — a struggle, not for wealth or reputation, but for a share in the work of benefiting and raising mankind?

Independently of the direct prosecution of his great task, — the calling of mankind from an irreligious to a religious life, — there are many and important ways in which the minister may be a blessing to the community. To the clergy is in great part committed the supervision of schools and academies; and their counsel, with regard to improvements in the system of education, is always heard with attention and respect. They have also an important office in guiding public opinion respecting those moral questions which, in an age of such mental activity as the present, are frequently arising. If they have any thing of his spirit in whose name they preach, they cannot be indifferent to the evils which intemperance,

slavery, and war have brought upon mankind. They are enabled to view these and similar subjects from an elevated point. Their profession has taught them the great truths, that moral evil is the great source of physical suffering, and that moral evil can be removed only by moral means. At the same time, they share the tendency to conservatism which will always be found among the favored classes in a community, somewhat strengthened, in their case, by the peaceful and studious nature of their occupations. Hence, though they may sometimes be liable to reproach for slowness to act in behalf of new enterprises of humanity, their aid to such enterprises, when it is given, is all the more valuable from the deliberation which has preceded it. The proper position for the clergy to occupy is one of calm progress, examining carefully every new suggestion for public improvement before adopting it, yet neglecting no peaceful effort that can be made to advance the highest civilization of mankind. This position, we think, the clergy are more and more generally assuming. In them, chiefly, under God, may the hope of the country be placed, for guidance through the difficulties which are so rapidly darkening around.

But even such exalted usefulness is not that peculiar service to God and man which it is the highest privilege of the Christian ministry to render. Let, then, our last and most urgent plea for the clerical profession, apart from those considerations which particularly concern us as Unitarians, be derived from the claims it presents as the ministry of reconciliation between God and man.

We look abroad upon the world ; we behold mankind in great part given up to the influence of their passions ; almost every good which Providence has bestowed perverted to injurious ends. To say nothing of the utter spiritual death of heathen, and, perhaps we might add, of some nominally Christian lands, let us look at the condition of our race as we witness it in our own country, and in this its most favored portion. Even here, how generally do we find that the outward engrosses the attention and possesses the hearts of men ! If gross crimes are less frequent than in other sections, is there not still everywhere prevalent the worship of mammon, the thirst for power ? How far are mankind even now from an appreciation of the purposes for which they were created ! How many are still in utter darkness as to the great ends of life ! How far is society from being the kingdom of Christ and of God !

This spiritual destitution it is the glorious, the hallowed work of the ministry to relieve. Against the many evils of society, and sin, the original evil of them all, there is a counter influence at work, the influence of the Gospel; and with this it is the privilege of the Christian pastor to unite his efforts. To hearts which have never recognized any law but that of their own inclinations, it is his to make known the worship of the God and Father of all. To the selfish he is to portray the benevolence of Jesus, to the revengeful he is to exhibit the beauty of holiness in the forgiving spirit of Christ. His task is a share in that mighty work which the Ever-blessed One himself commenced, to which the Saviour gave his labors and his life, and in furtherance of which the spirit of God is ever active in the hearts of men. It is the work of salvation, the rescue of mankind from moral ruin, from the quenching of every better principle and feeling, from abandonment to the senses and the passions, from consequences in a future life, which, though we shrink with awe from a presumptuous account of things unseen, we yet believe are more to be dreaded than all that is held most fearful in the present world. To bring the guilty to repentance, forgiveness, and peace, to encourage the trembling, to raise again him who sinks beneath temptation, to lead the young with gentleness in the path of Christian instruction, to sustain the mature in their contest with the world, and to prepare closing life for opening immortality, are the high offices of the pastor. "We are laborers together with God." Let, then, his hands and heart be pure who would undertake this ministry. And let those well consider whether they perform their duty, who are disposed to decline an office to which their abilities, their temperament, and the circumstances of their situation seem to constitute a call of Providence. The word of God must be preached, whether men will hear or whether they will forbear; whether the task of preaching it be attended with wealth and honor, or whether it be the lot of the minister, like that of his Master, to be despised and rejected of men, and to have no place in which to lay his head. And whether in riches or in poverty, in honor or in dishonor, still will the ministerial office possess, to those who are suited in heart and mind for the discharge of its sacred duties, a charm beyond all other occupations. Such will hear, whether in the silence of their academic studies or in the turmoil of the busy world, a voice, unheard

by others, calling them to go forth beside the still waters that make glad the city of God, to wander in those pleasant pastures where the foot-prints of the great Shepherd may yet be seen, to lead there his flock, to feed his lambs. To such the grateful confidence of Christian hearts will be a prize dearer than wealth, and the consciousness of having done something, however humble, for mankind and for God, a reward higher than fame.

After thus appealing to the noblest motives connected with the service of our Creator and the spiritual interests of man, it may seem scarcely becoming that we should turn to those which are derived from the claims of a peculiar system of doctrines. Yet the discussion of our subject would be incomplete, did we not, after presenting the claims of the clerical profession in general, offer also those which have peculiar reference to ourselves as believers in Unitarian Christianity.

There is, in the present position of the Unitarian denomination, a peculiar call upon its young members to rally — not in a spirit of sectarian jealousy, but of religious philanthropy — for the defence and propagation of the truths they ought to hold dear. Never, in modern times, have the prospects of Unitarianism been as bright as they now would be, but for the cloud thrown over them by our own indifference to the great cause committed to us. Yet never has that cause appeared more worthy of the support of the good and the true. How short has been the history of Unitarianism in this country, yet how glorious is the record it already furnishes of the virtuous dead! Freeman, Kirkland, Channing, Tuckerman, Follen, Greenwood, the Wares, father and son, Peabody, the venerable Worcester, the youthful Buckminster and Thacher; and how many might be added to the list of cherished names in the clerical profession! how many more of those who, in other walks of life, have manifested the power of Unitarian principles to guide, control, and sustain! And yet, while the world, conquered by such instances of virtue, is granting a rich meed of honor to the name we bear, some of our own number are ashamed and afraid of it, and others seem to think, that, however precious the faith we hold may be to us, it would be illiberal for us to make any effort to impart it to others. If it must be that the attempt to render the religion of our age more liberal, rational, and practical is to fail, this result will be owing to the indiffer-

ence of those who ought to do the work. At this moment, there is probably not a city or large town throughout our land where an able Unitarian preacher would not find a respectful and attentive hearing, — not one where he would not find persons who, dissatisfied with the common forms of Christianity, would receive with eagerness the views which Unitarianism affords of God as the Father, and Christ as the Brother, no less than the Redeemer, of the human race. Recently, too, Unitarianism has more than ever developed its character as the friend of peace, of liberty, of good order, and of education. While we lament or censure the moral evils that exist in the southern and western portions of our country, shall we do nothing for their correction? Or can we act for that purpose more efficiently than by furnishing them with that religious system which more distinctly than all others presents Christianity as identical with pure and elevated morality, — the system which restores the principles of the love of God and man to the place which the Saviour assigned to them?

We know it is sometimes said, that the supply of Unitarian preachers is equal, or more than equal, to the demand. What is the meaning of this assertion? Are our parishes, not only our large and eligible, but our smaller and poorer ones, always supplied with regular preaching? Is there a ministry at large in every town which possesses the population to which that ministry is adapted? Is every city of the West and of the South supplied with a resident Unitarian preacher? Are Asia, Africa, and the savage portions of our own continent dotted with our missionary stations? By no means. The assertion can be true in scarce any other sense than this, that the supply is more than equal to the demand of Boston and its vicinity.

"But," it will be replied, "are there not always a number of excellent men and good preachers waiting for employment?" We doubt as to the number. There are several who have constant, or nearly constant employment, without being permanently settled; being engaged by the week, or month, or year. There are generally more or less, also, who, having recently dissolved their connection with one parish, will soon be settled over another. There is another class of those who, possessing some pecuniary means independent of their profession, prefer to await the chances of settlement in some place altogether agreeable to them, rather

than to establish themselves at once under circumstances less adapted to their taste. There probably are some, too, as in other professions, who, though good and able men, are better adapted for some other walk in life than for that which they have chosen. When all these are struck from the list, the number of unsettled ministers among us will be found, we apprehend, to be very small.

Were the annual supply of Unitarian preachers doubled, it is probable that a demand, now silent from the utter hopelessness of the case, would be heard. Some would find their way to the cities and large towns of the South and West, and establish there permanent societies. Others would make such arrangements as are common in other denominations, giving their labor in turn to two or three villages, and receiving a part of their compensation from each. Some, perhaps, would turn their attention to foreign lands. India, Egypt, Algeria, the Turkish Empire, China, all offer at present a safe residence to the missionary, and the most interesting opportunities of testing the efficacy of simple Christianity for the conversion of the Mohammedan or the heathen. Nor do we think so poorly of the liberality of our men of wealth as to doubt that the means of support would be promptly afforded to able and devoted men who should select such fields of labor.

We have spoken freely of the demands and duties of the Unitarian denomination. It seems to be thought by some among us that any language of this kind implies a want of charity to others, — that it is only in a spirit of opposition to other Christians that we can do any thing in the cause of our own opinions. We beseech such of our friends not to judge us more harshly than they do others, whose opinions differ more widely from their own. We will suppose a growing village at the West, already supplied with a flourishing Presbyterian church, and with regular and well-attended Methodist preaching. A number of persons, however, prefer to worship as Baptists; some of them from conscientious attachment to the opinions of that sect, others because their early associations were connected with it. They come together accordingly; send for a Baptist minister to address them; withdraw their support from the Presbyterian and Methodist societies, not from any ill feeling, but because they are now ready to form one of their own. Who blames them or wonders at their conduct? The probability is, that

their fellow-Christians of the two older churches aid them with money and labor in the erection of their new edifice. The Baptists in other places hear with pleasure of the establishment of the new society, not as a triumph over Presbyterianism or Methodism, but simply as a gain to the cause of Christ in their branch of his service. But if, instead of Baptists, there are a few Unitarians in the village, it seems to be thought by many, almost by themselves, that they are guilty of schism and uncharitableness, if they attempt to organize a society of their own, until absolutely driven out of those which already exist. They cannot act on their preference for the theology of Cambridge without being thought "sectarian" and "illiberal." Yet the Baptist would willingly be received at the Presbyterian or Methodist communion-table, the scruple, if any, being on his own part alone; while the Unitarian would be either not received at all, or received because the controversy respecting his opinions had not reached that vicinity. We would respectfully ask those among our brethren who think it illiberal to spread Unitarianism, — How else than by disseminating our own opinions can we do our duty to the cause of Christ? The world is to be Christianized; thousands in our own country need to have Christianity preached to them; and the command, from Scripture and from reason, to supply their want, comes to us as much as to our Orthodox, or Baptist, or Episcopalian brethren. Shall we leave our part unperformed? If not, how can we discharge it, but by preaching what we believe to be the truth? If it is said, that we can let controverted topics alone, we reply, that they are generally let alone by Unitarian preachers. It is our very silence respecting them that marks our Unitarianism. We must preach as believers in the personal unity of God, or not at all. We must preach Unitarian Christianity, or leave unperformed the duty of preaching the Gospel, so far as it devolves on us.

And there is a greater necessity for our performance of this duty, from the fact, that throughout the country there are many who must have the Gospel from us, or not at all. There are individuals of Unitarian sentiments scattered throughout the land. There are still more, who, though not with us in name, and perhaps unacquainted with the history or even the existence of our denomination, are yet from various causes so averse to the popular representations of relig-

ion, that they cannot be brought to receive Christianity through such means. They are either deists, or if they believe in the Christian religion, it is with a despair of understanding the truth respecting it, and a feeling that they cannot unite with any of the dominant sects. Such men are to be found among the most thoughtful members of the community. They may be much to blame for not availing themselves of the light, imperfect as it seems to them, which other views of Christianity afford. Yet if we have a better light, or what they would deem a better one, shall we be blameless in withholding it from them? We have sometimes found with pleasure men of other denominations liberal enough to appreciate this argument, and to welcome the establishment of a Unitarian church in their vicinity from the belief that it might exert a beneficial influence on some whom their own religious ministrations could not attract. For the sake, then, of thousands throughout the country, who will have no access to Christianity except through our labors, it is our duty to preach the Gospel; and to preach it in the form which we believe to be true.

We call, then, on Unitarian young men to do their part for the cause of Christ. It is still his cause, though the circumstances of the age are such, that we cannot, without what appears to us unfaithfulness to the truth, lay aside the distinctive title which we bear. Disowned as we are by our fellow-Christians, it is idle for us to ignore the fact that we are a distinct denomination; and if we must have a name, we cannot find one more logically expressive of our views, more unexceptionable in regard to others, or more honorable in its past history, than that of Unitarians. But though a sect, we still are servants of Christ, we still are brethren and fellow-laborers with all his servants of every name. There is nothing in our position as believers in the personal unity of the Supreme Being, which should prevent us from doing justice to the merit of a fellow-Christian, whether he be laboring as a missionary in farther India, or wearing the tiara at Rome. We are to preach the truth, not in enmity to Calvinist or Romanist, but in enmity to error and sin. Heaven speed the day when all denominations shall feel and own the truth, that they are but different bands of laborers in the same great cause, free, indeed, to dissent from and to compare each other's peculiarities of faith, yet in the most important respects agreed, doing justice to each other's motives, care-

ful for each other's feelings, and presenting a united opposition to the moral and spiritual evils that oppress mankind!

S. G. B.

Art. IV. — THE ENGLISH REVOLUTION.*

Certainly there is no period of history to which the dispassionate critic, the philosophical thinker, the stern political economist, or the practical statesman of our day can turn with deeper interest and greater profit, than to the history of the struggles of English liberty from the death of Queen Elizabeth, in 1603, to the accession of William, Prince of Orange, in 1689, — a period denominated by Mr. Hallam "the great period of the seventeenth century." Not only was it the era when Whiggism triumphed over Toryism, and the latter lost many of its most repulsive features, while the Whigs at length found themselves in the uncongenial atmosphere of a court, and the recipients of court favors that almost made them forget the cause in which they had triumphed, but it was emphatically the age of great men and great deeds. To whatever part of Europe or to whatever department of literature we turn, we find the character of greatness stamped alike on the men and on the events. During this period, France produced its greatest generals, most powerful preachers, keenest satirists, noblest

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* 1. *The Statesmen of the Commonwealth of England, with a Treatise on the Popular Progress in English History.* By John Forster of the Inner Temple. Edited by J. O. Choules. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1846. 8vo. pp. xliv. and 647.

2. *The Protector: a Vindication.* By J. H. Merle d'Aubigné, D. D. New York: Robert Carter. 1847. 12mo. pp. 281.

3. *Memoirs of the Life of Colonel Hutchinson, Governor of Nottingham Castle and Town, Representative of the County of Nottingham in the Long Parliament, and of the Town of Nottingham in the First Parliament of Charles the Second, with Original Anecdotes of many of the most distinguished of his Contemporaries, and a Summary Review of Public Affairs:* Written by his Widow Lucy, Daughter of Sir Allen Apsley, Lieutenant of the Tower, etc. From the original Manuscript by the Rev. Julius Hutchinson. To which is prefixed, *The Life of Mrs. Hutchinson*, written by herself. Fifth Edition. To which is now first added, *An Account of the Siege of Lathom House, defended by the Countess of Derby against Sir Thomas Fairfax.* London: Henry G. Bohn. 1846. 16mo. pp. xx. and 523.

4. *History of the Counter-Revolution in England, for the Reëstablishment of Popery, under Charles II. and James II.* By Armand Carrel. — *History of the Reign of James II.* By the Right Hon. C. J. Fox. London: David Bogue. 1846. 16mo. pp. xxii. and 458.

poets, and acutest thinkers, — though, with the exception of the proud and crafty cardinals who, during the early part of the period, governed both France and the king, few of its statesmen can compare with Guizot, Thiers, and the other prominent statesmen of the reign of Louis Philippe. For a considerable part of the time, Louis XIV. filled the throne, and around him all the greatness of which France could boast was collected. Condé, Turenne, Bossuet, Bourdaloue, Massillon, Fenelon, Boileau, La Bruyère, La Fontaine, Racine, Corneille, Molière, Pascal, Nicole, Richelieu, — such were some of the men who, in France, adorned this remarkable period. Holland, too, sent forth Grotius, Spinoza, Rubens, and Vandyck. In Italy, Galileo made the Church tremble at his heresy, at the same time that Cardinal Bentivoglio wrote his elegant letters, and Guido painted; and while Spain remembers this as the era of Cervantes, Calderon, and Lope de Vega, Germany points to Puffendorf, Kepler, and Leibnitz. Nor was England behind Continental Europe as regards great men, while she surpassed it in great events. Pym, Hampden, Vane, Strafford, Clarendon, Cromwell, Sidney, Russell, Temple, Somers, Milton, Dryden, Taylor, South, Barrow, Fuller, Baxter, Owen, Chillingworth, Cudworth, Bacon, Browne, Locke, are but a few names from a list of unequalled brightness. All over the world the human mind was active, and the vital energy of genius ploughed its marks deep into the condition of the race. Everywhere men were up anddoing, shaking off the shackles that had weighed upon them for ages. The same year that witnessed the commencement of Hampden's Parliamentary career, and the impeachment of Lord Bacon, saw also the landing of the Pilgrims on Plymouth rock, — facts whose importance has hardly yet been fully measured.

Over the whole of this period the English Revolution stretches. Its primary causes are to be traced back to the time of Elizabeth, when Strickland and Peter Wentworth resisted the encroachments of her splendid despotism. Its consummation was reached only when William III. was quietly seated on the throne under the Act of Settlement. The seeds of discontent were already sown when Wentworth replied to the Archbishop of Canterbury, who was expostulating with him upon the refusal of Parliament to pass certain laws upon the demand of the queen's ministers, —

"No, by the faith I bear to God, we will pass nothing before we understand what it is; for that were but to make you popes; make you popes who list, for we will make you none." These words were abundantly vindicated many years after, when the Convention Parliament voted,—"That King James II., having endeavoured to subvert the constitution of the kingdom, by breaking the original compact between king and people, and having, by the advice of Jesuits and other wicked persons, violated the fundamental laws, and withdrawn himself out of the kingdom, has abdicated the government, and that the throne is thereby vacant." The assembling of the "Addle Parliament," the impeachment of Bacon, the meeting of the Long Parliament, the trial of Strafford, the decapitation of Charles I., the usurpation of Cromwell, the restoration of Charles II., the execution of the Duke of Monmouth, and the flight of James II. must all be regarded as so many parts of a great whole closely connected with each other. Too few modern historians have viewed the English Revolution in this philosophical light, either from an inability to grapple with a subject of such complexity, or, more frequently, because their minds have been fettered by some historical theory, as difficult to break through as the creed of a bigoted religionist. Yet it is only by thus regarding it that we are enabled correctly to estimate the relative importance of the various events which marked its course, rightly to balance the merits and defects of the respective leaders and to poise each in his true position, or even to arrive at a clear understanding of the fundamental character of the struggle itself. Writers have mastered a single idea, studied a single event, or read a good deal about a single actor, and then supposed that that actor, event, or idea made the English Revolution, thereby showing a singular ignorance of the causes of revolutions in general, and of the characteristics of the English people in particular. The fallacy of such a supposition becomes apparent, when we consider how deeply the sentiment of loyalty is imbedded in the hearts of most people in Europe, if not in this country, where it cannot so readily be traced in its objective relations. Long years of injustice and oppression alone can bring the great body of a nation to open rebellion and resistance. Such is preëminently the character of the English people. They will not fight to acquire *new* political or religious rights. Content with that

liberty which they have enjoyed, they seek only to preserve it, until their burdens become intolerable, and then they only begin to resist gradually and with long-suffering. Thus they were, to a great extent, passive during the Reformation, for which they cared very little, and which was begun in England by Henry VIII. to gratify his own tyrannical and licentious passions; while they were as undoubtedly, though in a different way, forced into the Revolution by the tyranny and immoralities of the Stuarts. The historians to whom we allude seem not to understand this; and to this mistake we may trace many of their errors.

In his Life of Sheridan, Mr. Moore has a sentence which shows so profound an insight into the essential differences between the two great political parties that have divided England for centuries, and is so applicable to the present discussion, that we cannot refrain from citing it here. He says: — "Whiggism is a sort of political Protestantism, and pays a similar tax for the freedom of its creed, in the multiplicity of opinions which that very freedom engenders; while true Toryism, like Popery, holding its children together by the one common doctrine of the infallibility of the throne, takes care to repress any schism inconvenient to their general interest, and keeps them, at least for all intents and purposes of place-holding, unanimous." Now the school of historians to whom we have referred lose sight of this universal law of the two parties, and appear to believe there was a wonderful unity of feeling in each party. Such was not the case. The unceasing contentions at Nottingham, detailed with such minuteness by Mrs. Hutchinson, exhibit on a small scale what was seen all over the kingdom. Every shade of opinion found shelter in the popular party. Men of every religious creed, and of no religious creed, all joined in a determined resistance to the illegal encroachments of the Stuarts. Respect for the laws and institutions of their fathers was the only bond that united them. The popular leaders sought to restore, not to reform. Their sole object was to preserve unimpaired those liberties which had been trampled upon by the Tudors. They constantly based their labors on the adamantine foundation of established precedent. In arguing for the bill of attainder against Strafford, Pym declared: — "Neither will this be a new way of blood. There are marks enough to trace this law to the very original of this kingdom; and if it hath not been put in execution, as

he allegeth, these two hundred and forty years, it was not for want of law, but that all that time hath not bred a man bold enough to commit such crimes as these." This regard for precedent marks nearly all the acts in the early part of the struggle. It was this devotion to law that alone prevented those acts of cruelty and rapine which have stained the annals of other revolutions; for the proceedings in Parliament, when honorable members were ready to sheathe their swords in each other's bosoms, show how little real sympathy there was between the popular leaders on many points. Their differences were not unfrequently as great as those that divided the party of Lord Shelburne from the Rockingham Whigs in after years.

The consequence of entering upon a study of the English Revolution with the erroneous theories which we have indicated is, that false views of different actors and different parts of the struggle, as well as of the struggle considered as a whole, have been generated in the minds of these historians, and thence passed into the popular belief; so that it admits of doubt, whether, with our better knowledge of its history, we have upon the whole a more correct idea of the Revolution than was entertained a few years since. We propose in the present article to direct the attention of our readers to two of the most prominent of those views which we believe have thus taken their origin in false theories and narrow conceptions.

Before entering upon this examination, however, it will be proper to say something of the several volumes the titles of which we have placed at the commencement of this article. Taken together, in the order in which we have enumerated them, they form a complete history of this period; but they are of very different degrees of merit, and the views of their authors are on many points antagonistic. Mr. Forster's book is, we think, the most valuable addition to the literature illustrative of the English Revolution that has been made for several years. Marked by great depth and a patient research, and written in a vigorous and masculine style, it presents admirable and lifelike sketches of seven of the most distinguished men of that period, — Eliot, Strafford, Hampden, Pym, the younger Vane, Marten, and Cromwell. Of each of these we desire briefly to speak. Eliot was born in 1590, and died in 1632. He was a man of rare virtue, great eloquence, and a wide acquaintance with classical

literature. He early distinguished himself by a manly opposition to James's tyrannical acts, and on the dissolution of Charles's famous third Parliament, he was committed to prison, where he remained until his death, which was, in a great degree, caused by the cruelties to which he was subjected. While in prison, he employed himself in writing an admirable treatise on self-government, styled by him "The Monarchie of Man," which is worthy of a careful perusal. It is a curious study to follow the workings of the prisoner's mind through this beautiful treatise, to read the letters which passed between him and Hampden, and to note the graceful criticisms of the latter. Perhaps its most noticeable defect is the redundance of ornament and illustration, as was suggested by Hampden. Eliot's life and character may be profitably studied and imitated by all. Although Hampden holds so prominent a place among the popular leaders, but little is known of his life. Like his friend Eliot, he was a man of great amiability of disposition, and of tried virtue. Unlike him, he possessed but little eloquence as an orator, and seldom spoke in Parliament; but his name is justly held dear for his bold resistance of the ship-money. Mr. Forster's life of him corrects several important errors of previous biographers. None of the popular leaders has suffered so much as the younger Vane from the misrepresentations of partisan writers. He has generally been described by them as a mere visionary, a mystic, and an enthusiast, given, according to Carlyle, to "hair-splitting." The truth is, that he was one of the noblest and purest of men, and one of the wisest and most practical of statesmen. The sin for which Carlyle has ostracized him is, that he saw through Cromwell's duplicity and exposed it. His speeches and pamphlets are full of ennobling sentiments, and are rich with political wisdom. His death on the scaffold was the death of a Christian scholar, patriot, and statesman. Our author's biography of him is the best that has fallen under our notice.* We are constrained to differ somewhat from Mr. Forster's estimate of Marten, whom he regards as a true patriot. Marten was of a quick and passionate disposition, which was not always properly governed; and although his intentions were undoubtedly upright, he seems sometimes to have acted the part of a demagogue. He cannot claim as high a place

* Mr. Forster speaks with deserved commendation of Mr. Upham's excellent Life of Vane, in Sparks's Library.

in our regard as some of his contemporaries. On the restoration of Charles II. he was imprisoned in Chepstow castle, from which he was only delivered by death in 1681, after a close confinement of about twenty-one years. The fact, that he suffered so prolonged an imprisonment rather than prove recreant to what he believed was the right, we admit, should protect his memory from too harsh a judgment. The lives of Strafford, Pym, and Cromwell are deserving of high commendation. To them we shall refer in our subsequent remarks. Mr. Forster has appropriately prefaced his volume with an essay on the gradual extension of popular rights, from the forced grant of Magna Charta on through the lapse of centuries to the Revolution. This essay is marked by the same power and vigor that we discover in his contributions to the Edinburgh Review. The American edition is edited by Rev. Dr. Choules, of Newport, R. I., who has added a characteristic Preface and several new notes.

Dr. Merle d'Aubigné's book is a mere *rifacimènto* of Carlyle's volumes. It is so strongly marked by the author's prejudices and partisanship, as to be of little value to the historical student. We quietly leave it to the fate that awaits bad books.

Mrs. Hutchinson's "Memoirs" has been justly pronounced by Mr. Macaulay "the best book on the popular side." We know of no other book which will give the reader so clear an insight into the historical details of this period, so far as it goes. In her delineations of character, and her description of manners, Mrs. Hutchinson displays wonderful skill. The account of the siege of Lathom House, which is now first added, is an interesting and valuable narrative, but is, we think, rather out of place by the side of Mrs. Hutchinson's work.

Carrel's *Histoire de la Contre-Révolution en Angleterre* is the production of a young Frenchman, the author of several other histories, but who is more generally known from the active part which he took in the Revolution of 1830, as editor of the *National*, — a journal established by him in connection with the historians Thiers and Mignet, as joint editors, but subsequently under his exclusive direction. His book was first published in the winter of 1827, but we are not aware that it has been before translated into English. It has several prominent defects; and they are less the defects of a young writer than of one who lacks discrimination and

the ability to grapple with his undertaking. He seems not to have thoroughly mastered the subject before he undertook to write about it; and we are sometimes led to think he was ignorant of important facts. One does not even get a perfect outline of the leading events, or a satisfactory impression of the principal characters that figured in those events, from M. Carrel's account.

As has been well remarked, Mr. Fox's fragment is chiefly characterized by the justness of his views and observations, and the generous and humane spirit that pervades every part of it. It has, however, too much of an oratorical character; and, in truth, it seems to be a cross between a history and a speech. There are many passages in it that might have formed parts of some splendid reply to the sarcastic superciliousness of the youthful minister, who, as Lord Byron said, ruined his country *gratis*, or the more insolent assumptions of that minister's followers; and we constantly meet with passages that bring back to our remembrance the author's pointed rebuke of Mr. Paymaster Rigby, when he told him, that "those ministerial members, who chiefly robbed and plundered their constituents, might afterwards affect to despise them, yet gentlemen, who felt properly the nature of the trust allotted them, would always treat them and speak of them with respect." We pass now to the main purpose of this article.

The first point which we would notice is the unauthorized importance attached to the public life, character, and services of Oliver Cromwell, and the extraordinary claims put forth in his behalf by certain biographers. While we freely admit the value of his early services in the cause of liberty, we doubt whether there was any thing in his course, after the dissolution of the Long Parliament, to entitle him to the precedence which is claimed for him by some writers. We suppose that Pym was the greatest statesman on the popular side, and Strafford the greatest statesman on the king's side. By forming a proper estimate of them, we shall be able to apply the right test to Cromwell.

Pym was born in 1584, and died the death of a good man, worn out in a good cause, on the eighth of December, 1643. He was a man of great practical abilities, of a resolute will, an unswerving integrity, a remarkable fixedness of purpose, an untiring energy, and a devotion to the cause of liberty not inferior to that which swayed the magnanimous heart of Mr. Fox. He was thoroughly versed in the constitutional

history of his country, and had a perfect mastery of laws and precedents. Joined to this, he possessed a mind of such rare logical powers, that no sophistries and subtilties could withstand it; and it is evident that he had made dialectics his particular study. His speeches are vital with a wisdom that reminds us of Bacon. His eloquence resembles the calm ruling of a judge upon the bench; for he never panders to base passions or unworthy prejudices. But the quality upon which we chiefly desire to fix attention is his great skill in planning. In a Parliament composed of great men, it made him the acknowledged leader. This quality, so necessary to a statesman, is found existing in him to a remarkable degree. He looked at those evils which threatened his country with the eye of a practised statesman, and at a glance saw the remedy. He conceived the plans which others were to execute; and while Essex, Hampden, and others were leading on the Parliamentary forces, he prepared the means to support them. Nearly every great measure adopted from the meeting of the Short Parliament in the spring of 1640 until his death had its birth in his commanding intellect. During this period, says Dr. Marshall, in a funeral sermon on Pym preached before both houses of Parliament and the Westminster Assembly of Divines, "from three of the clock in the morning to the evening, and from evening to midnight, this was his constant employment (except onely the time of his drawing nigh to God), to bee some way or other helpfull towards the publike goode, burning out his candle to give light to others." Such was John Pym, — a man who was bred, and lived, a statesman.

Strafford was born nine years after Pym, and was executed on Tower Hill, in the spring of 1641. In his Characters of Shakspeare's Plays, Mr. Hazlitt describes Lady Macbeth as "a great, bad woman, whom we fear more than we hate." Something like this is true in regard to Strafford; we both fear and hate him. We fear him on account of his extraordinary greatness; we hate him on account of his extraordinary wickedness. In greatness of intellect and baseness of character he had hardly an equal among his contemporaries. The eldest of twelve children, heir to a large property, and able to trace his descent back to the time of William the Conqueror, he early displayed an arbitrary and unscrupulous character. The love of power was the one great, but secret, motive which prompted all his actions; and it would be hard

to conceive of one more thoroughly unprincipled than he showed himself to be through the whole course of his administration in Ireland. Nor was his youthful history less marked by arbitrary views than his Irish administration. He was as unprincipled in the transactions of early life as in his dealings with Lord Mountnorris and Sir Adam Loftus; and it is almost certain that the sole object of his opposition to the court, during the reign of James I., was to obtain the best "bid" that he could. Most fitly was the title of "wicked earl," which Pym gave him, bestowed on one whose whole life was marked by gigantic crimes; for we speak advisedly, when we assert that he committed nearly all the crimes forbidden in the decalogue. It cannot well be doubted that he attempted to subvert the laws and constitution of the kingdom, and to introduce an unlimited despotism in place of the government then established. He had himself, with consummate ability, it will readily be admitted, exercised such a power in the North of England and in Ireland. He governed the latter like a conquered country, rather than a constituent part of the kingdom, and boasted that the king was as absolute there as any monarch in Christendom. In one of his letters to Laud are the following remarkable words, which well express his theory of government: — "I know no reason, then, but you may as well rule the common lawyers in England, as I, poor beagle, do here; and yet that I do, and will do, in all that concerns my master's service, upon the peril of my head." Elsewhere he declares that Hampden should be whipped into his senses for daring to resist the ship-money. But as a statesman, Strafford possessed great abilities, and was an energetic ruler. Every act which was in the slightest degree contrary to his ideas, every word that was spoken against his power, every symptom of rebellion against his authority, was immediately punished with the utmost rigor. Most earnestly did he labor in behalf of his royal master; and ever obedient to Charles's demands for money and men, he was for a long time the chief support of that monarch. This executive energy it was, we conceive, that chiefly marked him as a statesman. No one has surpassed, few have equalled, him in it. All obstacles were trampled upon by his resistless will, or circumvented by his energy. As the popular party felt his greatness, it might well exclaim, in the language which Racine has put into the mouth of Nero, —

"Mon génie étonné tremble devant le sien."

We come now to Cromwell himself; but we shall not venture to draw his character, lest we should appear to do him even the slightest injustice. Neither shall we cite the opinions of any one who can in any degree be suspected of expressing partisan views. We turn to the pages of him whom common consent has pronounced the most unprejudiced of English historians. No writer upon English history surpasses Mr. Hallam in stern, cold, unimpassioned, uncompromising impartiality. He has thus drawn the character of Cromwell in a parallel with Bonaparte: —

"The most superficial observers cannot have overlooked the general resemblances in the fortunes and character of Cromwell, and of him who, more recently and upon an ampler theatre, has struck nations with wonder and awe. But the parallel may be traced more closely than perhaps has hitherto been remarked. Both raised to power by the only merit which a revolution leaves uncontroverted and untarnished, that of military achievements, in that reflux of public sentiment, when the fervid enthusiasm of democracy gives place to disgust at its excesses and a desire of firm government. The means of greatness the same to both, the extinction of a representative assembly, once national, but already mutilated by violence, and sunk by its submission to that illegal force into general contempt. In military science or the renown of their exploits, we cannot certainly rank Cromwell by the side of him for whose genius and ambition all Europe seemed the appointed quarry; but it may be said that the former's exploits were as much above the level of his contemporaries, and more the fruits of an original uneducated capacity. In civil government, there can be no adequate parallel between one who had sucked only the dregs of a besotted fanaticism, and one to whom the stores of reason and philosophy were open. But it must here be added, that Cromwell, far unlike his antitype, never showed any signs of a legislative mind, or any desire to fix his renown on that noblest basis, the amelioration of social institutions. Both were eminent masters of human nature, and played with inferior capacities in all the security of powerful minds. Though both, coming at the conclusion of a struggle for liberty, trampled upon her claims, and sometimes spoke disdainfully of her name, each knew how to associate the interests of those who had contended for her with his own ascendancy, and made himself the representative of a victorious revolution. Those who had too much philosophy or zeal for freedom to give way to popular admiration for these illustrious usurpers were yet amused with the adulation that lawful princes showered on them, more gratuitously in one instance, with servile terror in the other. Both, too, repaid, in

some measure, this homage of the pretended great by turning their ambition towards those honors and titles which they knew to be so little connected with high desert. A fallen race of monarchs, which had made way for the greatness of each, cherished hopes of restoration by their power, till each, by an inexpiable act of blood, manifested his determination to make no compromise with that line. Both possessed a certain coarse good-nature and affability, that covered the want of conscience, honor, and humanity; quick in passion, but not vindictive, and averse to unnecessary crimes. Their fortunes in the conclusion of life were, indeed, very different: one forfeited the affections of his people, which the other, in the character at least of their master, had never possessed; one furnished a moral to Europe by the continuance of his success, the other, by the prodigiousness of his fall. A fresh resemblance arose afterwards, when the restoration of those royal families, whom their ascendant had kept under, revived ancient animosities and excited new ones; those who from love of democratical liberty had borne the most deadly hatred to the apostates who had betrayed it recovering some affection to their memory, out of aversion to a common enemy. Our English republicans have, with some exceptions, displayed a sympathy for the name of Cromwell; and I need not observe how remarkably this holds good in the case of his mighty parallel." *

We might safely venture to leave Cromwell's character as a statesman where it has thus been placed by Mr. Hallam; but we desire to apply to it the test of contemporary statesmanship, and to show, that, even when thus judged, he cannot claim to be regarded as a great statesman. The most rigid and patient analysis of his character, the most careful and laborious study of his life, alike establish this fact. We adopt Mr. Hallam's language, and assert that Cromwell "never showed any signs of a legislative mind." Not a single act in his whole life can be adduced in support of a contrary opinion. Even the Self-denying Ordinance, which was the foundation of his power, and has sometimes been attributed to him, was the work of one Zouch Tate, who has quietly passed into merited oblivion, and hardly left any other trace behind him. His various attempts to govern by means of Parliaments that should not question "foundations," and his expedient of the major-generals, which is treated with such deserved ridicule and contempt by Mrs. Hutchinson, show that he was utterly deficient in that first essential of a states-

* Constitutional History of England (Paris edit.), Vol. II., pp. 195, 196.

man, the ability to conceive measures for others to execute. The very achievements that have thrown the most glory upon the Protectorate were nothing more than the successful results of measures planned by the younger Vane, —

> "young in years, but in sage counsel old,
> Than whom a better senator ne'er held
> The helm of Rome, when gowns, not arms, repelled
> The fierce Epirot and the African bold," —

and the patriot statesmen of the Long Parliament. It is to an unjustifiable appropriation of their labors that Cromwell owes the greater part of his fame.

But it must be admitted, on the other hand, that Cromwell exhibited great administrative energy, which, we conceive, was the only statesmanlike quality that he possessed. Yet even in this he does not rise to the wonderful greatness of Strafford. He was more like the younger Pitt — a man of successful expedients rather than of enlarged views — than like Strafford, a man always ready for every emergency. Nor does the comparison end here, since the efforts of Pitt and Cromwell were alike directed against the liberty of the subject. One suspended the Habeas Corpus Act; the other by military force ejected the Long Parliament. No part of Cromwell's executive labors can compare with those of Strafford, as none of his measures can compare with those planned by Pym.

A due regard to truth, justice, and the facts in the case compels us, then, to pronounce Cromwell inferior to both Pym and Strafford. He had not the ability to conceive which we discern in the former. He had not as great ability to execute as we discern in the latter. Nay, more, we believe, as a statesman he was not equal to the younger Vane, to Lord Somers, to Sir William Temple, to the quibbling Whitelocke, or to Shaftesbury, whom the immortal pen of Dryden has so clearly drawn as one

> "For close designs and crooked counsels fit."

If we apply to Cromwell's moral character a similar test to that which we have applied to his political character, and try him by the standard of goodness found in such men as Vane, Eliot, Hutchinson, or Falkland, we shall find that the admiration lavished upon his "goodness" by some writers is equally without substantial foundation.* It is only when

* Dr. Merle d'Aubigné holds the following language: — "Oliver has been

Cromwell is judged by the standard of the Stuarts, or of the profligate courtiers who cringed and fawned around Charles II., that his goodness is apparent. Few persons, we apprehend, will be disposed to admit that that is a proper standard by which to decide a man's claim to be considered "a good man." We find, when we analyze his moral character, that Cromwell was deficient in Vane's deep Christian sensibility, in Eliot's unchangeable devotion to the right, in Hutchinson's unspotted integrity, in Falkland's amiability and sweetness of temper, and in the manly consistency of them all. He was, on the contrary, a fanatic, in whose character ambition, dissimulation, and occasional cruelty were mingled with a remarkable tenderness towards his own family, while he paid little regard to the rights of those who were opposed to him. There are many facts in his history, as there are many traits in his character, which cannot be defended by any fair argument. We desire no better proof of this than the evidence that is afforded by a careful study of his letters and speeches. His severest condemnation comes from his own lips and pen; for he could be guilty of the grossest and most palpable perversion of the truth.* We cannot reconcile his double-dealing in the matter of the Lincolnshire fens, the deception he practised towards Whitelocke when the latter was sent on his embassy to Queen Christina, his dupli-

presented as a hero to the world; I present him as a Christian to Christians, — to Protestant Christians; and I claim boldly on his behalf the benefit of that passage of Scripture: *Every one that loveth God that begat loveth him also that is begotten of Him.*" — *Vindication*, pp. 21, 22.

* In a speech delivered before the first Protectorate Parliament, Cromwell declared: — "But plainly the intention [of the Long Parliament] was, not to give the people a right of choice; it would have been but a seeming right; that [semblance] of giving them a choice was only to recruit the House, the better to perpetuate *themselves*." The fact is contrary to all this. At the very moment when Cromwell entered the House of Commons, with a deliberate purpose to destroy its existence, that body, under the patriotic counsels of Vane, was engaged in perfecting the details of a bill providing for the election of a new Parliament, on principles much more liberal than those of the Reform Bill of 1832. Cromwell dissolved the Parliament, because this bill would have effectually destroyed his power and that of his military upstarts, and have prevented the fulfilment of those ambitious views which he now cherished. It was with a conscience-stricken voice that he exclaimed, — "The Lord deliver me from Sir Harry Vane!" It is a circumstance worthy of note, that, when Cromwell turned the members out of doors, he seized this bill, and it has never been recovered. Nor does any perfect record of it remain; but sufficient is known of its provisions to justify our account of it. Cromwell was evidently a believer in Mr. Simms's doctrine, that it is by no means important to describe historical events just as they were.

city in his intercourse with Colonel Hutchinson, his dissolution of the Long Parliament, and his military usurpation, his cruelty at Wexford and Drogheda, his unnecessary severity in Edinburgh, the many arbitrary acts of his government, his frequent hypocrisy, and his desertion of the popular cause, with any system of Christian morality. These are not the acts of a good man, and in view of them we cannot allow the validity of Cromwell's claim to be considered as such. We find no stains like these on the characters of Vane, Eliot, Hutchinson, or Falkland. Their characters challenge our highest admiration; his character demands neither our admiration nor respect.

We pass now to our second point. Some recent writers have undertaken to set forth that the English Revolution was a sort of civil war between the Protestants and the adherents to the Romish See. This idea is thus baldly stated by Dr. Merle d'Aubigné: — "The fearful commotions and sanguinary conflicts which shook the British isles, in the middle of the seventeenth century, were in the main a direct struggle against Popery. . . . . It was the misfortune and the crime of the Stuarts to have rallied around Rome, and to have desired to range their subjects under the same banner. Charles I. was the victim of this attempt."* Few will venture to question the deep religious principles implanted in the hearts of Mrs. Hutchinson and her sturdy Puritan husband, — a man in whom, as we have intimated, integrity, uprightness, disinterestedness, and all the kindred virtues, were so sweetly blended, that he seems almost entitled to the praise bestowed upon him by our respected contemporary, the North American Review, that "he was the best man then living." Mrs. Hutchinson bears her emphatic testimony as follows: —

"He [Colonel Hutchinson] applied himself to understand the things then in dispute, and read all the public papers that came forth between the king and Parliament, besides many other private treatises, both concerning the present and foregoing times. Hereby he became abundantly informed in his understanding, and convinced in conscience of the righteousness of the Parliament's cause in point of civil right; and though he was satisfied of the endeavours to reduce [restore] Popery and subvert the true Protestant religion, which, indeed, was apparent to every one

* *Vindication*, p. 12.

that impartially considered it, yet he did not think that so clear a ground for the war as the defence of the just English liberties." — *Memoirs*, p. 98.

The same views animated the other popular leaders. They sought the reëstablishment of their liberties, which were threatened by the Stuarts. It was not against theological errors, but against unjust laws, illegal taxes, and arbitrary claims that they rebelled. We find that Pym, — "a grave and *religious* gentleman," says May, the historian of the Long Parliament, — when discussing religious questions, invariably considers their political bearing, in reference to the liberties of the subject, or to the integrity of the fundamental constitution of the kingdom, rather than their theological relations. This is true of every one of his speeches, even of those against Dr. Mainwaring and Archbishop Laud. They were impeached because their doctrines were slavish doctrines of passive obedience to the king, not because they favored prelatical institutions abstractly considered. It is true that there were men on the popular side who aimed at nothing but opposition to all existing institutions of religion, and all forms of belief except their own. These were bigots, and had no adequate idea of the inestimable worth of religious liberty. Some of them were on the committee at Nottingham, and sorely tried the feelings of that noble soldier and of that intellectual woman of whom Puritanism may well boast. These men were a constant hindrance to the success of the popular cause in Nottingham, and in every other part of the kingdom where they were to be found. They did not help on the popular cause; they retarded its success, and finally, become political trimmers, they "brought in supreme Stuart," as the younger Vane had foreseen they would. Civil and religious liberty owes them nothing. It is not true, then, that the popular leaders were actuated by a spirit of intolerance or of hatred against the Catholics. It must not be supposed, however, that they cared nothing about the religious errors and abuses of such men as Laud, Mainwaring, and similar theologians, who preached High-Church and High-Tory dogmas. While the popular leaders sought to restore their political rights, they sought also with a jealous care to preserve those rights of conscience which were endangered by these extravagant doctrines, so boldly preached. Pym himself declared that he "sought a reformation of some gross abuses crept into the government by the cunning and perverseness of the bishops and their substitutes."

Neither is it true, on the other hand, that the Stuarts sought the reëstablishment of Popery for its own sake, irrespectively of the political advantages which they might derive from that religion considered as an instrument of arbitrary power. They sought the establishment of an absolute dominion over their subjects; and it was only during a short time under the reign of James II. that the restoration of Popery was regarded as a matter of primary importance. On this point we know of no one whose opinion should have so much weight as that of Mr. Fox, — certainly one of the greatest statesmen that England has ever produced. Mr. Fox remarks upon this view as follows: —

"Mr. Hume says, the king found himself, by degrees, under the necessity of falling into an union with the French monarch, who could alone assist him in promoting the Catholic religion in England. But when that historian wrote, those documents had not been made public from which the account of the communications with Barillon has been taken, and by which it appears that a connection with France was, as well in point of time as in importance, the first object of his reign, and that the immediate specific motive to that connection was the same as that of his brother; the desire of rendering himself independent of Parliament, and absolute, not that of establishing Popery in England, which was considered as a more remote contingency. That this was the case is evident from all the circumstances of the transaction, and especially from the zeal with which he was served in it by ministers who were never suspected of any leaning towards Popery, and not one of whom (Sunderland excepted) could be brought to the measures that were afterwards taken in favor of that religion. It is the more material to attend to this distinction, because the Tory historians, especially such of them as are not Jacobites, have taken much pains to induce us to attribute the violences and illegalities of this reign to James's religion, which was peculiar to him, rather than to that desire of absolute power, which so many other princes have had, have, and always will have, in common with him. The policy of such misrepresentations is obvious. If this reign is to be considered as a period insulated, as it were, and unconnected with the general course of history, and if the events of it are to be attributed exclusively to the particular character and particular attachments of the monarch, the sole inference will be, that we must not have a Catholic for our king; whereas, if we consider it, which history well warrants us to do, as a part of that system which had been pursued by all the Stuart kings, as well prior as subsequent to the Restoration, the lesson which it affords is very different, as well

as far more instructive. We are taught, generally, the dangers Englishmen will always be liable to, if, from favor to a prince upon the throne, or from a confidence, however grounded, that his views are agreeable to our own notion of the constitution, we in any considerable degree abate of that vigilant and unremitting jealousy of the power of the crown, which can alone secure to us the effect of those wise laws that have been provided for the benefit of the subject; and still more particularly, that it is in vain to think of making a compromise with power, and, by yielding to it in other points, preserving some favorite object, such, for instance, as the Church in James's case, from its grasp." — *History*, pp. 346, 347.

Throughout this passage we perceive how philosophically Mr. Fox had regarded this whole period of history. No one is more competent to pronounce decisively on the practical workings of parties, or of their objects in such a struggle as the English Revolution, than he who for so many years from the opposition benches of the House of Commons thundered against arbitrary power and ministerial encroachments. In view of the facts to which we have referred, supported by the opinion of one of the greatest statesmen of modern times, we may boldly affirm that the English Revolution was not a mere religious struggle to prevent the establishment of Popery. When we assert that it was, we are unjust to the popular leaders, for we make them bigots by implying that they were unwilling to allow toleration to the Catholics, which is not true; we do more than justice to the Stuarts, for we make them martyrs to a religious sense of duty, which they were not. In truth, not one of them except James II. was a sincere Catholic.

We have thus endeavoured to point out two of the principal popular errors respecting the English Revolution, — the unauthorized importance attached to the life and character of Cromwell, and the idea that the Revolution was a struggle between Protestants and Papists. We think that neither of the views to which we have alluded finds any adequate support in a careful examination of this period of mingled glory and shame. Nay more, both, we believe, are utterly at variance with the real facts in the case. The importance of entertaining correct opinions on great historical questions is manifest. History is the teacher of nations as well as of individuals. To preserve the integrity and give the right interpretation of her teaching is, therefore, one of our most solemn duties. C. C. S.

ART. V. — CHASE'S APOSTOLICAL CONSTITUTIONS. — TORREY'S NEANDER.*

For the sake of those of our readers who may not be familiar with the work or collection called the "Apostolical Constitutions," including what are termed the "Canons of the Apostles," we will, before proceeding to give an account of the publication for which we are indebted to Dr. Chase, say a few words respecting the history and character of these relics of Christian antiquity. There is no notice of any production under the title of "Apostolical Constitutions" by any writer during the first three centuries of the Christian era, nor until late in the fourth. Epiphanius, who wrote during the latter part of the fourth century and died early in the fifth, is the first who names a work with this title. He quotes from what he calls the "Constitution of the Apostles," — a composition, he says, which, though held of doubtful authority by many, is not to be condemned, since it contains a true account of the ecclesiastical discipline and laws. Eusebius and Athanasius, it is true, refer to what they call the "Teachings" or "Doctrine" of the Apostles, and it has been thought by some, that under this title they designated the work afterwards quoted by Epiphanius. But of this there is no decisive evidence, and their identity is matter of conjecture merely. With the exception of Epiphanius, if he be an exception, none of the distinguished writers of the fourth century allude to the work, and the next mention we find of it is in what is known as the "Incomplete Work on Matthew," written after the death of Theodosius the Great, and it may have been late in the fifth century. This is all the external evidence relating to the existence of such a work found within the first five centuries; and it is not certain that our present

* 1. *The Work claiming to be the Constitutions of the Holy Apostles, including the Canons; Whiston's Version, revised from the Greek; with a Prize Essay, at the University of Bonn, upon their Origin and Contents; translated from the German*, by Irah Chase, D. D. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1848. 8vo. pp. 496.

2. *General History of the Christian Religion and Church; from the German of Dr. Augustus Neander. Translated from the First, revised and altered throughout according to the Second Edition.* By Joseph Torrey, Professor of Moral and Intellectual Philosophy in the University of Vermont. Volume Second: comprising the second great Division of the History. Boston: Crocker & Brewster. 1848. 8vo. pp. 768.

"Constitutions" is the same work quoted by Epiphanius. If substantially the same, it is very clear that it has been interpolated, or has received additions, or both, since his time.

The work claims to have the Apostles for its authors, and is sent out in their name through their "fellow-minister Clement." It begins thus: — "The Apostles and Elders to all who from among the Gentiles have believed in the Lord Jesus Christ: Grace and peace from Almighty God, through our Lord Jesus Christ," etc. In the fourth chapter of the eighth book, we have these words: — "Wherefore, we the Twelve Apostles of the Lord, who are now together, give you in charge these our Divine Constitutions concerning every ecclesiastical form; there being present with us Paul, the chosen vessel, our fellow-apostle, and James the Bishop," etc. Again, — "Now this we all in common proclaim," etc. But sometimes one of the number speaks individually. Thus, "I Peter," or "I Andrew," "say"; "I who was beloved by the Lord," "I Philip," or "I Bartholomew," "make this Constitution." And so of the rest, each in turn speaking in his proper person. No one now, however, thinks of attributing the work either to the Apostles or to the Roman Clement; it is universally admitted to be spurious, and, so far as the form is concerned, is, in truth, a very bungling forgery. It was written after the hierarchical principle began to develop itself and had made some progress in the Church, and treats largely of ecclesiastical discipline, forms, and observances, not omitting, however, duties of practical morality. The first book, which is exceedingly brief, is "Concerning the Laity"; the second, "Concerning Bishops, Presbyters, and Deacons"; the third, "Concerning Widows"; the subject of the fourth is "Orphans"; of the fifth, "Martyrs"; of the sixth, "Schisms"; the seventh is "Concerning Deportment, and the Eucharist, and Initiation into Christ"; the eighth is "Concerning Gifts, and Ordinations, and Ecclesiastical Canons," and contains, as well as the seventh, various prayers and liturgical services.

Rejecting the claim of the "Constitutions" to an Apostolic origin, we may observe, that, in the absence of direct historical testimony, their age is matter of conjecture, founded on the character of their contents, which, though it precludes a very early date, leaves room for no inconsiderable latitude of opinion as to the precise period of their composition, if

they were not, as is probable, the growth of different periods. It is impossible to say positively in what century even they assumed their present form. Several of the most eminent among the earlier Catholic writers of modern times, as Bellarmin, who takes notice of their rejection by the Trullan Council, A. D. 692, Baronius, Cardinal du Perron, Petavius (Petau), and others, have pronounced them spurious, though few of them have undertaken to decide when or by whom they were written. Petavius observes, that they are different from the "Constitutions" of Epiphanius. Tillemont says, that they were a fabrication of the sixth century; others ascribe them to the third or fourth; Du Pin thinks them not the same work mentioned by Eusebius and Athanasius, and conjectures that they "belong to the third, or rather the fourth century," but that they were "from time to time corrected, altered, and augmented, according to the various customs of different ages and countries"; Cotelerius expresses doubts whether they were known to Epiphanius, and at all events thinks them interpolated and corrupted.

The opinions of Protestants have been not less diverse as to the time of their composition. Blondell, without assigning his reasons, places them late in the second century. William Beveridge ascribes them to Clement of Alexandria, instead of Clement of Rome, first mentioned as the author by the Trullan Council above referred to. But Clement of Alexandria, if he wrote them, must have stood self-condemned, for the Constitutions do not allow the reading of heathen authors, who constituted his favorite study, and with whom he probably was more familiar than any other man of his time. For other reasons we may pronounce the opinion that he was the author of the work a very strange one and wholly untenable. Pearson supposes them a compilation with alterations and additions, made up after the age of Epiphanius from writings already in existence, some of them ancient. With Pearson agrees, in the main, Grabe. On the other hand, Whiston declares them to be the "most sacred of the canonical books of the New Testament," and says, that their contents were derived immediately from the Saviour during the forty days he passed with the Apostles after his resurrection and first ascension,* and that the place of their delivery was Mount Zion, whence the "Christian law was to

* Whiston supposed that our Lord ascended immediately after his resurrection, and returned to instruct his Apostles during the forty days.

proceed." Le Clerc speaks of them as probably collected and enlarged at different times from the practice of the churches, though he seems to favor the opinion of Thomas Bruno, or Brown, a canon of Windsor, who makes the principal collector to be Leontius, an Arian bishop of the fourth century. Spanheim places the completion of the work at the end of the fifth century. Samuel Basnage considers them as different from the "Constitutions" of Epiphanius, and as originating at a subsequent period; Ittig and Usher refer their origin to the fourth century; and Daillé, who brought all his immense erudition to bear on the question of their genuineness, and denies that they were the same work quoted by Epiphanius, or the work or works referred to by Eusebius and Athanasius, contents himself with expressing the opinion, that they were written after the Council of Nice, and before the end of the fifth century, without attempting to be more definite.

Recent German critics are no more satisfactory. Thus Schröckh ascribes the collection to the third or fourth century; Starck, who supposes it to be made up of various materials scattered here and there, makes it date from the fifth century; Neander thinks it grew up in the Oriental Church "out of different pieces, whose ages extend from the latter part of the second to the fifth century," being not identical with the "Constitutions" of Epiphanius; Schmidt assigns to it a later origin; Rosenmüller will not undertake to settle the time; Augusti, as usual with him, does not trouble himself about the precise date; while Kestner discovers a "Christian confederacy," at the head of which stood Clement of Rome, of which the old "Apostolical Constitutions" were a sort of "statute-book," in the place of which, the confederacy being dissolved in the time of Epiphanius, the new Constitutions were substituted. The object of the confederacy was, by means of "a great multitude of writings, forged agreeably to the spirit of the time," to secure the universal triumph of Christianity!*

We need proceed no farther with our enumeration of the "judgments of the learned." Our readers will see by this time the little foundation there is for any positive opinion on the subject of the authorship and date of the "Constitutions." The "Canons," of which eighty-five appear in our present collection, a smaller number in the older collections,

* Krabbe's Essay, in the volume before us, p. 299 *et seqq.*

are also of uncertain antiquity, though some of them, no doubt, describe the discipline and usages of the Church at an early period, and are older than the "Constitutions."

We now proceed to the publication named at the head of our article. The volume opens with a modest and well-written Preface by Dr. Chase, in which he explains what share he has had in the work, and adds some brief historical statements and reflections sufficiently favorable to Christian antiquity. The following is the introductory paragraph.

"In reading these Constitutions and Canons of the Apostles, the Christian of the present day will be likely to exclaim, 'A splendid specimen of pious fraud! A strange mixture of good and of evil!' He will readily perceive, however, that he has before him documents exceedingly important for illustrating the ecclesiastical history of a very remote period; — a period during a portion of which, at least, heathenism was dominant; the sighing of Christian prisoners was heard; the blood of martyrs was flowing. Here, too, are seen indications of the bitter controversies which rent the Church before and after the Nicene Council, assembled by Constantine the Great, A. D. 325; here, some of the seminal principles from which gradually arose monasticism and the Papal hierarchy, and other great departures from the spirit and practice of the primitive Christians. And yet, with all the error, and superstition, and bitterness, and fraud, there is so much that is true, so much that is opposed to superstition, so much of kindness, moderation, and wisdom, so much of intelligence, and of acquaintance with the sacred Scriptures, so much that is elevated and manifestly Christian, so much that inculcates holiness upon the clergy and upon the laity, so much that is appropriate and impressive in some of the liturgical pieces, and, for the most part, there is such a tone of earnestness and sincerity, that, in the absence of the lights which we now enjoy, multitudes might easily have admitted the claims here set forth to Apostolical authority." — pp. v., vi.

We will also present, in a short extract, what we find in the Preface relating to the "revised" version of the "Constitutions" here given, that of Whiston being taken as the basis.

"In revising the version here presented, regard has been had chiefly to the Greek text of the Constitutions, as published with notes in the Amsterdam edition of the Apostolical Fathers, and to the Greek text of the Canons, as recently edited by Bruns in

his Bibliotheca Ecclesiastica, under the supervision of Neander. The Septuagint translation of the Old Testament being the one used by the author and his contemporaries, the references in the margin are made to the books, chapters, and verses as they stand in that Greek translation. Some of its peculiarities, which receive no countenance from the Hebrew original, may here be traced, as having had a decided influence on the theology and reasoning of the early fathers." — p. xviii.

The Essay * of Krabbe, of which a translation by Dr. Chase is given in the volume, we have read with a slight feeling of disappointment. It is not without its merits, but we think more highly of the historical part than of the critical. The first chapter exhibits a very convenient summary, sufficiently complete for ordinary purposes, of the opinions which have been formed by eminent writers, Catholic and Protestant, relating to the origin of the Constitutions, and the time and manner of their collection. The second chapter contains a "Discussion of the External Testimonies respecting the Constitutions." The author arrives at the conclusion, that our present Constitutions are "those of Epiphanius, but interpolated," and he thinks that the interpolations were the cause of their rejection by the Trullan Council. He supposes the testimony of Eusebius and Athanasius to refer to the work as it existed in the time of Epiphanius. He does not, of course, attribute them (chap. iii.) either to the Apostles or to Clement, the latter being, according to him, "a collective name denoting a circle of the traditions of the first three centuries." Near the beginning of the fourth chapter, in which there is an attempt made to determine the "age of the Constitutions," we meet with a declaration which, we confess, we have read with some surprise. After observing that we have no means of ascertaining their author, the writer proceeds : —

"From the external testimonies respecting the Constitutions, and from the internal evidence, it will, on the contrary, be possible for us to point out their age in the most exact and careful manner. Yes, we will endeavour to determine the age of the Constitutions, at least approximately, up to the difference of a few years, and point out their origin as necessarily falling in this or that time. This, however difficult it may be, will be a possi-

* An Essay, Historical and Critical, on the Origin and Contents of the Apostolical Constitutions.

ble task of criticism; while, on the contrary, in the attempt to determine who the author was, there is no historical and positive basis. Besides, the Constitutions can also have had an entirely unknown author, who, moreover, as it is usually done in a forged work, applied the greatest care to conceal the fraud (which otherwise might be well intended) and to attain his object. What is the most important of all, in this matter, is to settle firmly the age of the Constitutions, and exhibit the proper evidence."— p. 358.

We have read this, we say, with a feeling of some surprise. That it is "possible" for any one "to point out" the "age" of the Constitutions "in the most exact and careful manner," or "up to the difference of a few years," — that this is "a possible task of criticism," we do not believe, and that the author conceives he has satisfactorily accomplished this task, in vain attempted by former critics, argues certainly no excess of modesty on his part. For ourselves, we do not think that he has thrown much light on the age of the document or documents. He begins by separating the first seven books from the eighth, referring the origin of the last named to the "end of the fourth" or "beginning of the fifth century," which may not be very wide of the truth, though we should be disposed to assign for its completion, in the form in which we now have it, a period somewhat later still. The first seven books, he asserts, "must have arisen towards the end of the third century," or "not long after" the age of Cyprian. The only external testimonies on which he relies for carrying their origin so far back are those of Eusebius and Athanasius, already mentioned; both, at best, exceedingly doubtful, as we have seen. His internal proofs are drawn from the character of the contents of the Constitutions themselves. But these afford a very insufficient foundation for so positive a conclusion. The author has adduced nothing particularly striking from them, — nothing, surely, which compels us to refer their origin to the period immediately subsequent to the death of Cyprian. Undoubtedly, they present many of the opinions and usages of that age; but this they might well do, though formed or collected much later. With all the changes which were from time to time creeping into the Church, many of her principles and customs possessed a degree of permanency; they remained without essential alteration for very considerable periods. Besides, parts of the work may belong

to one period, and parts to another. There is no necessity for referring it, with our author, interpolations excepted, to a single age, or a single hand. That it is an accumulation from different ages, or was made up of fragments belonging to different periods of the Church, appears to us a much more probable supposition. Clearly, the evidence the writer adduces falls far short of establishing the conclusion, that the work must necessarily be a composition of the third century, late in the century as he may place it. As before intimated, we think that he has left the question of its origin and date precisely where he found it. He has produced no new witnesses, nor extracted any additional information from examining and cross-examining the old; and his argument has more of the show of profoundness than of the reality. It will not bear a searching analysis.

But a more unsatisfactory part of the Essay still is that which relates (chap. v.) to the "Interpolations which the first seven books of the Constitutions have suffered." The author admits that particular passages, and even whole chapters, have been interpolated, some on doctrinal, and some on "hieratical" grounds; and he says that these interpolations took place at the time of the formation of the eighth book, that is, as we have said, at the end of the fourth, or beginning of the fifth century. Now we have no disposition to deny that the work, whether in the main the composition of a single hand, as Krabbe, an advocate for its unity, maintains, or a collection made from pieces already in existence, has been interpolated. But the position, that the passages which favor Arianism, that is, preserve the supremacy of the Father and teach the distinct and subordinate nature of the Son, are interpolations, appears to us wholly untenable. The truth is, they are interwoven with the whole texture of the seven books, and were without question parts of the original composition. We are surprised that any one can read them and not be convinced of this. Dr. Krabbe himself refers to Photius as alleging, among the reasons for the rejection of the Constitutions, "their Arianism, *from which they could be freed only by violence.*" So it is. It would be as difficult to separate Arianism, or what is equivalent to it, from the Constitutions, as to take out the miracles from the Evangelical narratives. In doing either, you destroy the whole fabric of the work. You use the greatest imaginable "violence." In this respect, the Constitutions, the first seven

books, at least, truly represent the opinions of Christian antiquity. All the Ante-Nicene fathers hold similar language. None of them teach the Athanasian doctrine, as several of the most learned among Trinitarian critics have freely admitted. In the Constitutions, which embody the practical, the moral, and devotional elements of the religion of the ancient Church, the old doctrine distinctly appears. It was natural that it should. The Trinity owed its origin to the learned Platonizing fathers, and belonged to the speculative theology of the times in which it grew up. That writings like the Constitutions, which deal not at all in theoretical or speculative theology, but relate chiefly to Christian life and worship, should exhibit no traces of this doctrine, but should be pervaded by the simpler and purer faith which marked the earlier ages, is precisely what, from the ordinary principles of human nature, might have been anticipated.

Among the heretical opinions expressly condemned in the Constitutions, one is that which supposes Jesus himself to be "God over all."* We are surprised to hear a man making any pretensions to a knowledge of Christian antiquity assert, as does the author of the Essay, in commenting on the passage, that this "was always an orthodox doctrine," the fact being notoriously otherwise. He adds, — "and also the Scripture (Rom. ix. 5) designates him as *over all, God blessed for ever*,"† — and all this without the slightest intimation that the passage is capable of receiving, and from eminent Trinitarian critics even has received, a very different construction, its sense depending on the punctuation, which is modern. The translator passes over the passage without note or comment, and in his Preface we regret to find him indorsing the opinion, that the Arian complexion of the Constitutions is the result of interpolations, instead of being, as we should think must be evident to all, an original feature.

We would by no means be understood as intimating that we hold in light estimation the labors of Dr. Chase in bringing out the volume before us. He has certainly performed a service highly creditable to himself, and one for which the friends of theological literature among us owe him most hearty thanks. The "Essay" on the Constitutions, and the "Dissertation" on the Canons, which he has translated, will be found, with all their defects, to be exceedingly val-

* Book VI., c. 26, p. 157. † p. 428.

uable for the amount of historical information they place before the reader. To be sure, there is not much that is new in the summaries they contain; for, after all, modern inquirers, including the indefatigable Germans, have added little, on this subject, to the stores that were open to the elder writers. The author has, however, in some sort, brought the history of opinions on the subject of the origin and date of the works concerned down to the present time, a service which will be duly appreciated by those who have not access to the productions of the more recent foreign writers. We commend the labors of Dr. Chase to the favorable regard of those among us who take any interest in the history of Christian antiquity, or who have the disposition and means to extend encouragement to works which, though of permanent value and the fruits of toilsome thought, can never secure popular favor. Theological scholarship in our land has difficulties enough to overcome, and meets with a sufficiently slender reward. Could a word of ours have the effect of directing the attention of the wealthy and influential portions of the community to the importance of holding out more inducements than have heretofore existed, or than now exist, to original research in the fields of historical and critical theology, we would gladly utter it. But we fear that the public mind is too much absorbed in matters of a more tangible character — mere utilitarian interests — to give much heed to any thing we could say.

On the value of the "Apostolical Constitutions," as throwing light upon the opinions, practice, and rites of the ancient Christians, one or two remarks are all we have at present to offer. The uncertainty of the time when the collection was made, of course, essentially diminishes their worth as sources of history, and requires caution in their use. This will be seen upon the slightest reflection, since the respect to which an opinion or usage of Christian antiquity is entitled, setting aside intrinsic considerations, must be determined by the age to which it belonged. A usage of the fourth or fifth century affords no indisputable evidence as to those of the first or second, and is entitled to comparatively little regard. It can in no sense be denominated a primitive usage.

The uncertainty attending the date of the Constitutions, and other compositions of unknown origin, or the period of the Church to which they belong, has not always been sufficiently kept in view, in practice, at least, by those by whom it has been unhesitatingly acknowledged. Some of the re-

cent German writers fall under this censure. We specified, some little time since,* the case of so distinguished a writer as Augusti (*Denkwürdigkeiten aus der Christlichen Archäologie*, etc.). His want of a "nice appreciation of the comparative value of the testimony he adduces, as affected by the time of the writer," and the proof or suspicion of forgery or interpolation, and his neglect to refer events and usages to their proper epochs, were mentioned as serious defects in his work, in many respects one of great research and learning. At the time we offered this criticism we had not seen Krabbe's Essay, in which a similar censure occurs. After some remarks on the arbitrary assumptions of Augusti, the author of the Essay observes, that, "throughout his whole investigation, he never gained a firm position, to which, amidst his abundant use of these documents [the Constitutions] in his great archæological work, he might go back, and sustain himself." † Mr. Coleman's volume on the "Antiquities of the Christian Church," founded mainly upon the work of Augusti, very naturally partook of the same defect.‡ We are the more disposed to notice this looseness in the use of the materials of history and criticism, as we think that we discover growing evidence of it in several of the productions of German theologians at the present day, and the school of Strauss is not wholly faultless in this particular.

As Unitarians, certainly, we can have no ground for wishing to undervalue the testimony of the Constitutions, or deny them the least particle of the respect to which they can be considered as reasonably entitled; for they are wholly with us, so far, at least, as regards the first seven books, to which is generally assigned an earlier origin than to the eighth. We have already spoken of their care to preserve the supremacy of the Father, and to assert the subordinate and derived nature of the Son; and their testimony on these points, we have said, is not casual and isolated, it interpenetrates their whole language. The old form of ascription at the conclusion of prayers, we may observe, is retained, giving glory to the Father, *through* the Son, and *in* the Holy Spirit. Nor is there a trace to be found of the theory of total depravity or of kindred doctrines of the Augustinian and Calvinistic theology. Many frivolous and many foolish things occur in these books;

* Christian Examiner for Jan. 1845. † p. 298.
‡ Christian Examiner for Nov. 1844.

but they will be searched in vain for any germs of the metaphysical or scholastic subtilties of subsequent ages.

We will conclude our notice of them with two specimens, — one of the ridiculous, and the other of a serious character. The first is Peter's account of what happened to Simon the magician.

"Now, when he [Simon] was in Rome, he mightily disturbed e Church, and subverted many, and brought them over to himself, and astonished the Gentiles with his skill in magic; insomuch that once, in the middle of the day, he went into their theatre, and commanded the people that I also be brought into the theatre, and promised that he would fly in the air. And when all the people were in suspense at this, I prayed by myself. And, indeed, he was carried up into the air by demons, and flew on high in the air, saying that he was returning into heaven, and that he would supply them with good things from thence. And the people making acclamations to him, as to a god, I stretched out my hands to heaven with my mind, and besought God, through the Lord Jesus, to throw down this pestilent fellow, and to destroy the power of those demons who made use of it for the seduction and perdition of men; to dash him against the ground, and bruise him, but not to kill him. And then, fixing my eyes on Simon, I said to him, 'If I be a man of God, and a real apostle of Jesus Christ, and a teacher of piety, and not of deceit, as thou art, O Simon, I command those wicked powers of the apostate from piety, by which Simon the magician is carried, to let go their hold, that he may fall down headlong from his height, and be exposed to the laughter of those who have been seduced by him.'

"When I had said these words, Simon was deprived of his powers, and fell down headlong with a great noise, and was violently dashed against the ground, and had his hip and anklebones broken. And the people cried out, saying, 'There is one God only, whom Peter rightfully preacheth in truth.' And many left him; but some, who were worthy of perdition, continued in his wicked doctrine. And thus this most atheistical heresy was fixed in Rome. The devil wrought also by the rest of the false apostles." — pp. 137, 138.

On the next page commences what is called "An Exposition of Apostolic Preaching," which would not at the present day, we suppose, be regarded as coming up to the standard of orthodox sects. The following is the first paragraph.

"But we, who are the children of God and the sons of peace,

preach the holy and right word of piety, and declare one God only, the Lord of the Law and of the Prophets, the Maker of the world, the Father of Christ; not a being that caused himself or begat himself, as they suppose, but eternal, and without origin, and dwelling in light inaccessible; not second, or third, or one of many, but the only one eternally; not unknown, or that must not be spoken of, but that was preached by the Law and the Prophets; the Almighty, the Supreme Governor of all things, having authority over all; the God and Father of the Only-begotten, and of the First-born of the whole creation; one God, the Father of one Son, not of many; the Source sending forth one Comforter by Christ; the Maker of the other orders, the one Creator of the several creatures by Christ, the same their Preserver and Legislator by him; the Author of the resurrection and of the judgment, and of the retribution which shall be made by him; and that his Son himself was pleased to become man, and lived among men without sin, and suffered, and rose from the dead, and returned to Him that sent him." — pp. 139, 140.

The publication of Professor Torrey's translation of Neander's Church History, the second volume of which has just appeared, affords another gratifying proof that the minds of our theologians are not wholly inactive; and the fact, that a bookselling firm can be found willing to incur the risk of issuing such works, for which the demand must be slow and limited, augurs well for the interests of American scholarship. We hope the enterprise may prove successful. Neander's second volume carries down the history of the Church from the end of the Diocletian persecution to the time of Gregory the Great, that is, from A. D. 312 to A. D. 590, — a period of great importance, whether we regard the external diffusion of Christianity, the internal organization and discipline of the Church, or the development of its doctrines and the distinguished names that adorn it. During this period lived Arius and Athanasius, Eusebius, Jerome, Chrysostom, Pelagius and Augustine, and a multitude of inferior note; the doctrine of the Trinity in a manner received its finishing touches; the most celebrated of the ancient councils were held; the ambition of the clergy became rife, superstition grew apace, and events transpired of the utmost significance in the history of Christianity. The portion of Neander's work embraced in this volume is marked by his usual traits, — his tendency to mysticism and occasional obscurity, redeemed, however, by his laboriousness, his

fidelity and earnestness, his great learning and thoroughness. We do not always assent to his views; we think that he sometimes refines and theorizes too much, that he finds a meaning in his authors of which they were themselves unconscious, attributing to them his own idiosyncrasies of thought; still, we hold his name and writings in great respect, and sincerely thank Professor Torrey for laying open to the American public treasures of so great worth. A. L.

Art. VI.—ITALY AND PIUS THE NINTH.*

If evidence were wanting in support of the philosophical theory, that all political and religious movements are in accordance with a central law and tend to a principle of unity, the swift succession and the order of such movements would both confirm and illustrate the theory. No great interest of humanity can now be confined to a narrow range, or be isolated in space or time. The questions which engage local communities are debated for them far beyond their borders, and have almost the same universality as have questions of science. And how swiftly do the great events which involve political and religious changes succeed each other! The last decade of years has been distinguished by a most remarkable series of revolutions. Leaving mere political concerns unmentioned, — though both continents would furnish most signal matters for rehearsal, — each of the last ten years has given birth to as marked a movement in the religious interests of the world as can be dated in any previous year in the long interval back to the birth of Jesus Christ. Using the word *religion* in its broadest sense, as including all the moral, philanthropic, and ecclesiastical relations of Christendom, what memorable incidents are recorded already in the

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* 1. *Italy: General Views of its History and Literature in Reference to its Present State.* By L. Mariotti. London. 1841. 2 vols. 12mo. pp. 376, 422.

2. *Dublin Review, Vol. XVIII., Article VIII. The Italian Insurrection and Mr. Mazzini.*

3. *Facts and Figures from Italy.* By Don Jeremy Savonarola, etc. Being the Roman Correspondence of the London "Daily News" for 1846-7. London: Bentley. 1847. 12mo. pp. 309.

4. *Italy, Past and Present.* By L. Mariotti. London: Chapman. 1848. 2 vols. 12mo. pp. 479, 444.

religious history of the last half-score of years! We have before us the crowding images with which they fill the picture of passing events, so full that we can scarce study them as they move across the scene. The emancipation of the slaves at Jamaica, Puseyism, the Free Church of Scotland, the German Catholic Church, the opening of China to Christian missionaries, the excitements involved in the admission of the Jesuits or their exclusion which have agitated three European countries, the establishment of Christian schools in Egypt under Mehemet Ali, the accession of Pius IX. to the Papal throne, and the removal of civil disabilities from the Jews in England, — these are all religious movements, and they are only the most prominent of those which have occurred in the brief period of time just defined. So hurried is the progress of human affairs, so complicated are the relations of the parts of Christendom, so intense, though momentary, is the interest which each signal change excites, that common judgment would accord with philosophy in affirming that all things are rushing on to some grand conclusion.

One of the great central points of interest for the civilized world at this time is the Papal throne and the States of the Church. That there has been popular exaggeration and extravagance as to the relative importance of "the movement in Italy," has been already made evident to the observing. That some other incidents and events are as big with momentous consequences to the world at large as is any thing that has occurred or that can occur in Italy, is undeniable. Italy and the Roman Pontiff do not now have under their control the peace or the larger interests of Christendom. Only so far as events there harmonize with or impede the workings of a reformatory spirit in the world at large, can they claim attention or invite discussion. In addressing ourselves, therefore, to the theme which we have chosen, we would not exaggerate its relative interest. We must remind our readers that we write at some disadvantage, as new developments appear from day to day.

We have given the titles of some of the recent publications which have presented the affairs of Italy with the freshest interest to our notice. All the religious sects, and all political parties, have turned their attention, as by common consent, to the theme, and all the journals and reviews have furnished their readers with information upon it. We have been diligent to gather up these scattered and various helps.

The letters from Rome to the London Daily News, which were frequently translated in the French papers, and which have been reprinted in a volume, have a high and racy interest, because they were written at the central point of observation, and make a journal of passing events there. The new work by Mariotti, the title of which stands last among the publications at the head of our article, was received while we were preparing these pages. The author has revised, enlarged, and improved his former work, and it now appears as the first volume of his recent publication, representing Italy in the past. The second volume is entirely new, and is devoted to the present in Italy, with a fresh and vigorous review of the incidents and characters of the last twenty-five years, which have involved the fortunes of that country. The author, by his intimate acquaintance with the history and literature of his native land, and by his long residence in other countries, especially in England and America, is admirably qualified for the task which he has accomplished. He has given us a work of a most eloquent and useful character. His ardent patriotism does not take the form of lugubrious lamentation over his country's wrongs, nor obtrude itself in the disparagement of the institutions of other nations. He is a theoretical Catholic, as are very many of the living scholars and thinkers of Italy, who with him preserve only the idea of a certain unity in religious belief and administrations, while they enjoy the broadest latitudinarianism of thought and opinion. Mariotti says : —

"The progressive attacks of Protestantism, and the sudden ravages of philosophy, have undermined the Catholic edifice where it had laid its deepest foundation; and the generous souls who show the greatest anxiety for its preservation inwardly feel, and openly admit, the necessity of a reformation of its revolting abuses; only reformation, the most sanguine Italians flatter themselves, must be unanimous and simultaneous; it must be the work of mutual concession and compromise; the result of general progress and enlightenment; of a well-grounded conviction of the utter unprofitableness of mere dogmatic discussion. Emancipation of opinion must take place without schism or hostility." — Vol. II. pp. 183, 184.

The brilliant pages of this writer are most instructive and pleasing. With a masterly pen, and evidently engaged upon a work of love, he surveys the long-past glories of Italy in politics, science, literature, and art, and gathers around the

storied names of her great men the lustre of an enviable fame. Of the calamities and sufferings of Italy for the last twenty years he has had his portion. Her exiles have been his companions. A perusal of his recent publication has confirmed us in the views which we had previously entertained. Especially in his chapter upon the present Pontiff do we find the same qualified expectations as to the hopes of liberalism, which alone seem to us to be justified by any measure which he has as yet devised. We read, too, that some of the exiles recalled to Italy by the clemency of the Pope have again turned their backs upon it in disappointment. Mariotti sees no real deliverance for Italy but in an appeal to arms, which shall at once and for ever exterminate the Austrian rule from her provinces and borders.

As we have intimated, the enthusiasm excited by the first official acts of the present Pontiff of the Roman Church far outran the grounds for it. Disappointment must in the due course of things have followed in some quarters. Now, therefore, may be the opportune time for a fair view of the talian movement, with its bearings and its promise.

The aspect of the case, to those who catch an idea from popular rumor and the hurried news-columns of the public prints, answers to the following representation. A bigoted and aged Pope, who belonged to all former centuries rather than to this, died a natural death and was regularly embalmed. By some unexplained fatuity, the Cardinals, with whom the full power rested, elected as his successor one of their body who had before been distinguished only as benevolent and harmless. To the amazement of the whole world, the new Pope at once became known as a reformer, devoting himself immediately to the redress of grievances, yielding to all the liberal movements of the age, and by a most extraordinary exercise of lenity allowing a full pardon to thousands of exiles and prisoners, whose names had been associated with insurrection and revolt for more than twenty years. His sudden and wholly unexpected course of measures was known to have caused a threatening excitement over the whole peninsula of Italy, involving Austria and France directly, England less directly, and the whole of Europe in some degree, while the concussion of the shock reached across the Atlantic. The reform of abuses under any circumstances being well understood to involve danger and turbulence, it was not strange that the process, when applied

where all abuses had concentrated for ages, and had formed not only the institutions, but the very roots and soil which sustained them, should cause the most intense excitement on the spot, and a watchful interest at a distance.

The reformatory measures projected and immediately put in force by Pius IX. have been made the subject of frequent mention, and have been greatly overstated. Some trivial acts of lenity and prudence, which would have received their full award, had they been regarded only as an auspicious introduction of the Pontiff to his temporal subjects, have called forth in Rome demonstrations of joy altogether disproportioned to their amount or value. It may be said, however, that his subjects were better judges than are we of the value of such acts, and doubtless proportioned their gratulations to the benefits. To this it may be replied, that if the people of the Roman States will bear what they have borne till within the last eighteen months, we should expect from them a very grateful acknowledgment of the least favors, and that demonstrations of feeling are in those regions no sure index of the weight of the occasions or subjects which call them forth. At any rate, whatever may have been the value of the local reforms of the Pontiff on the spot, or the degree of gratitude which they deservedly claimed from his subjects, they were not of a nature to justify the extravagant encomiums which, in this country, for instance, have been passed upon them. For, indeed, any amount of temporal reforms and lenient measures would not fill out the expectations which have here been cherished in reference to Pius IX., and of the fulfilment of which he has been supposed to have given promise. The heated enthusiasm which has had really so little to feed it has hasted to ascribe to him a title which he has hardly yet merited, and has wrought itself into imaginations of great spiritual revolutions, even to the length of anticipating large concessions to Protestantism, to be made through a general council, to soften or supersede the decrees of Trent.

How idle such expectations are, this would not be the place for us to attempt to prove, even if we thought they deserved any labored exposure. For ourselves, we have, from the very accession of Pius IX., been wholly skeptical, if not as to the designs and motives, yet as to the actual results, of his reformatory measures, so called. We regard them as at best a regilding of the chains by which the subjects of the

Papacy are held in bondage. We frankly avow this feeling here, because it indicates the tone of this article, and any reader whom we may offend may at this point refuse us his further patience and attention. Not that we deny to his Holiness any virtue which personally exalts him, or attribute to him the worst forms of sin, which are the pretences of rectitude. We yield all that his admirers claim to his benevolence, his sincerity, his earnest and pure purposes for the good of his subjects. As an individual, we honor him for all the private excellences and all the public virtues which are ascribed to him. But here we stop. Only one bold and revolutionary act has as yet distinguished his career, and in that we see more policy even than magnanimity. We refer, of course, to the general amnesty which he proclaimed. Of this more by and by. Nor does our skeptical feeling about the promise of this Pontiff's reign arise from his display of the full Papal spirit in the only case which thus far has afforded him an opportunity to exhibit his alleged liberalism in spiritual matters; — we refer to his veto of the Irish Colleges. He has not given the slightest intimation that his reforms will touch upon ecclesiastical matters. He is not to be judged in that direction, for he has been wholly silent. It is only high-wrought popular delusion that has created any such expectation. The reasons which justify the avowal of our distrust will appear in the survey which we shall now offer. We have stated what aspect the movement in Italy bears in the popular view of it; let us now look at the facts which actually constitute its form and features.

There certainly has been a great embroilment arising and extending from the centre of the Italian peninsula for a year and a half last past. Of this there is no doubt. Nor is it doubtful that Pius IX. was the exciting cause. Italy has been in a dangerous ferment, and the amnesty proclaimed by the Pope of Rome was the evident reason for it. It is not a little remarkable, however, that such a general embroilment should have followed upon an act of temporal jurisdiction in the States of the Church. It shows us how contorted, involved, and hazardous are the relations between neighbouring states on the old continent. The nearer they are together, the more dangerous to one is any movement in another. This might lead wise men to ask how it has come about that such an unnatural and complicated state of things prevails. On our own continent, a complete political revolu-

tion may take place in one of our States, while our neighbours shall read of it only as a matter of news. The movement in the States of New York and Connecticut to allow free suffrage to negroes might be supposed to be as likely to prove offensive, or to create excitement, at the South as any local measure originating with the Pope to offend or endanger Austria. Yet no such delirious excitement ensues here, upon the fundamental revolutions in our separate States, as has led almost to a general *mêlée* in Italy. It is enough for us to indicate this involved and tortuous state of public relations abroad, without tracing its origin or defining its character.

Still, that amnesty proclaimed by Pius IX. to proscribed exiles and condemned traitors, which has been the signal act of his reign, and has caused the embroilment of Italy, was no trifling act. It was bold and venturesome, and really alarming in its stretch of leniency, though to a wise observer it will seem to have averted a more threatening risk than it hazarded. In the first year of the reign of the last Pope, Austria joined with the other great powers of Christian Europe in recommending to him certain reforms as absolutely imperative in the Papal States. This was after the riotings of the previous year, 1830. The superficial and deceptive devices of that time ended in nothing but an aggravation of abuses. Now, in the first year of the present Pope, Austria forbids him to reform. There seems something very strange in this, but it admits of easy explanation; just as does the shameful difference between Guizot's theory in his History of Civilization, and his truculency towards Italian progress in his ministerial diplomacy. The philosophy of some facts is only their history read backwards; for each actual fact of this hour may be traced back into all the preceding sources, whose confluence makes the present.

That Papal amnesty is evidently the key to all the strange and to all the plain facts of the movement in Italy. From the spreading influence of kindness, that kind act has filled Christendom with the praises of the Pontiff, has caused the hope to dawn that the Church may yet reform herself, has led to meetings of congratulation at New York and Philadelphia, has brought under discussion the revival of diplomatic relations between Rome and England, and the opening of such between Rome and our own republic; and the last wonder we are to trace to that kind act is the appear-

ance of the Roman Catholic Bishop of New York at the festival of the New England Society, where he responded to a toast in honor of Pius IX. This same kind act is, by another effect of kindness, the moving cause of Austrian jealousy and opposition. Who, then, were the subjects of that act of amnesty, what was their character and position, and what were the probable effects of the act upon them and upon Italy?

It would be difficult to say of any year of Italian history, that either peace or unity prevailed over the peninsula. It has always been a land of volcanic and sulphureous exhalations, and its political condition has ever caused fomentations of discord among its inhabitants. The evils and contentions which now affect its several states are not usually traced farther back than the French Revolution. Not that some of the most virulent corruptions were not of more ancient origin; but that in the unredressed wrongs, and the surviving rivalries which the Holy Alliance promised in vain to extinguish, are found abundant causes for all that Italy now suffers.

The fate of war and the policy which divides its spoils gave to Austria the northern Italian provinces, and from the hour in which the treaty was signed, dark intrigues, secret machinations, and despotic watchfulness have alike played all their games and exhausted all their skill upon that beautiful but unhappy land. That there is room for wide differences of opinion as to the integrity of Austrian policy may be granted; but that in this age of the world it would be tamely submitted to, in regions through which pass the great routes of travel for the most enlightened and curious observers of all Christendom, could not be imagined, certainly by Prince Metternich.

Secrecy has always been the avowed condition on which Austria pursues its plans even of amelioration and improvement. Nothing is known, beyond the cabinet, of any new scheme or modification of a law, till the whole measure has been decided upon, and has actually commenced operation. Even the wise and generous movement in the post-office reform, and the allowance and patronage of railroads, were measures debated with the most cautious silence, and not known by the public to be under discussion till the results appeared in action. The government avoids publicity about its designs, does not invite those whom they concern to utter

an opinion, and of course loses much of the credit due to wise and good designs, — the credit of the intention before the deed. Thus the government appears rather to be coerced or frightened into its benefactions, as if, by some sudden largess, it would avert a meditated blow or drown a threat. This has been the policy of Austria about its best plans, its really judicious and reformatory measures. It is not surprising, therefore, that, with the other objections which attend this course, should arise the popular imputation that the cabinet now and then pursues a good design in secret, only for the sake of winning a closer secrecy for tyrannical and oppressive measures. When the Austrian code was substituted for the Code Napoleon, trial by jury was set aside for the processes of secret inquisition, — a judicial measure which doubtless aggravated tenfold both the insurrectionary intrigues of Italian patriots and the severity of the measures required to detect and punish them. Not an hour of peace has Italy known since the Austrian sway was restored; all has been ferment and insecurity.

The spirit of resistance, and of what is called independence, worked not so much among the lower as among the middle classes of society. The secret fraternity called the *Carbonari* was organized, and soon embraced persons of every rank and condition, not excepting ecclesiastics, and its schemes were alike suggested and sustained by French and Spanish influence. An Italian league was the object, and a necessary step to it was to gain over the smaller Italian principalities, which were under the iron control of Austria. It was impossible but that, in a region where the confessional wrings out of the simple hints enough to explain the information gathered by coffee-house spies, these machinations should occasionally be so far exposed as to show that they were in progress. Austria immediately set upon opposing intrigues, rivalling those of the Carbonari in secrecy, while the possession of unbounded power followed them with the severest public measures. Thus smouldering passion and secretly working rebellion were met by stern watchfulness and austerity. Francis I., the Emperor, with a dogged and unyielding determination, opposed at every issue and vent the spirit which he knew was rife in his provinces. In the Piedmontese insurrection of 1821, some youths from the University of Pavia formed a patriotic corps, and, as the rising was of course instantaneously quelled, they were expelled

from the University, a punishment which for them included all other penalties. It was said at the time, that slight concessions would have won them to quietness; but no such conciliation was practised, and they and their friends became zealous fermenters of revolution. One such agent will work much, and over a wide circuit.

Thus "Young Italy" nourished its patriotic fires in its smouldering fervors of zeal, till the revolution in Paris, in 1830, helped the party so far as to give them this promising name, in place of that of the Carbonari. As "Young France" had come of age, why might not "Young Italy" also? Then followed the insurrections of Modena, Parma, and Bologna, in 1831, which, being miserably contrived, without concert, resources, or perseverance, were futile, and were at once put down by Austrian muskets. Thirty-two of the conspirators were condemned to death, twelve of whom were executed. The long result was, that three thousand of the discontents were banished or exiled, or fled to escape persecution. These were for the most part young men of fortune and rank.

At his coronation in Milan, in 1838, the Emperor granted a conditional and restricted amnesty, and some other slight conciliations, which for a time quieted the agitations of the provinces, leaving the leaven of turbulence to work more effectually in the States of the Church. The results there were the outbreaks and the executions at Bologna in 1843–44.

It was evident to all who watched with anxious concern these generous but hopeless designs of the Italian reformers, that all their schemes must fail for want of largeness and thoroughness. They were too earnest, not to insure their own suffering; they were too loose in their organization and plans, to meet with any signal success. Their plans could result only in spasmodic and partial movements, which lacked head and concert. Then was most sorely felt the want of that unity which it was a favorite object of the revolutionists to make the zone of Italian centralization. But their dreams were broken, unless they still had courage to shape them within the walls of Austrian prisons, which were filled with these martyrs of liberty. Hundreds there were, whose narratives would have lacked none of the interest of those of Pellico and Andryane. Thousands of Italian exiles were left to roam over Europe, and enough of them have found their way hither to form on this soil associations for the redemp-

tion of Italy. The hand-organs in our streets may often suggest, in the persons of their bearers, more deep emotions than their music could stir.

Unity, independence, reform, and deliverance from Austrian rule, with a centralized government under a constitutional head, rather than by a confederation of states, were the objects which the Italian patriots longed and suffered to realize. The hostile and opposing influences, which thwarted all their schemes, presented to them insuperable difficulties in all directions. Popular movements were depended upon, and yet there was no leader to inspire and guide them. There was lacking even that amount of freedom which alone could devise means for its enlargement. The wedge with which the trunk of tyranny was to be cleft had no edge sharp enough to enter one of many seams. A summary statement of the embarrassing difficulties which dogged the schemes of the reformers will but feebly exhibit the strength and nature of the resources of which tyrannical power availed itself.

One sovereign, the Austrian Emperor, and eight little courts of licentious rivalry and rapacity, were alike interested in repressing all popular movements, while obliged to practise the keenest *surveillance* over each other. A degraded, ignorant, and lazy peasantry, overawed by garrisoned fortresses, wearied and intimidated by the horrors and disappointments of the French Revolution, in which they had borne the most and fared the worst, were to be made the subjects of an enfranchisement, for whose blessings they did not aspire, and to secure which they would not raise an arm. It was only to the classes above these, that the cause of liberty could look either for its champions or its common tools. The want of military skill, of arms, ammunition, and the talents requisite in leaders to inspire confidence and to plan resources, is most painfully apparent in the review of the insurrectionary movements, and must have foreboded certain disaster, even to the most enthusiastic. The restrictions and *espionage* practised in the post-offices made all concert of action impossible. Indeed, a post-office in Italy was rather a government facility for the detection of dangerous persons, than a means of confidential intercourse between separated friends. The annoying impediments cast in the way of free movement from place to place, even though only a ride of a few hours would make the change, the everlasting and provoking demand for the passport, and the search-

ing of luggage, which on the least suspicion extended to the person, these were embarrassments which tasked the patience of the innocent, and might well intimidate the plotter. The traveller through Italy during recent years can hardly have escaped associating many irritating thoughts with those gray-surtouts and muskets which presented themselves at the gates and barriers of every town and city, and upon either bank of the Po. What wakeful vigilance must the emissaries of insurrection have needed, to evade those ubiquitous mercenaries who were represented by the gray-coats and muskets! Nor were these the only prying eyes which were intent upon searching and examining for the detection of mischief. The soldiers were only the outdoor and public police, bearing the badges of their office, well known even in the dark, — cats already provided with bells, and giving fair warning of their presence. The vineyard gathering, the hostelry, the restaurant, the coffee-room, and the theatre were under the oversight of a secret police, who were charged with the most inquisitorial and sleepless vigilance. These spies were not distinguishable from any class of any sort with which they might mingle, nor was their presence confined to the Austrian provinces or the ecclesiastical legations. Some Italian exiles were grouped around the door of a *café* in the town of Rhodez, in France, in 1836. Among them was an Italian woman. In the midst of conversation, with no provocation of manner or language, one of the party sprang up and plunged a dagger into her heart. The murderer averred that she was an Austrian spy, and he escaped condemnation. Again, the censorship of the press, with the suppression of all liberalizing papers, and volumes for public circulation, and of teachers and books in the schools and universities, utterly precluded the extension of the spirit of freedom, except by the one channel of confidential intercourse under great risks. Finally, the omnipresent Jesuits, whose tortuous policy has been but mildly castigated, according to its deserts, even by Vincenzo Gioberti, were the effective tools of tyranny and the sworn foes of innovation. The reader may test only by imaginative applications the stringent power of each and all these opposing forces, and then form, perhaps, some faint conception of the obstacles with which Italian patriots contended, in their unconcerted schemes. The insurrections of 1821 and 1831 showed the benumbing influence, the repressing power, of these Austrian agencies, while

the quelling of those insurrections doubled the severity and the vigilance with which Austria applied her resources to prevent their growing need.

Yet, in spite of all these obstacles and defeats, the leaven of reform has worked effectually in Italy. The first meeting of Italian scholars, which was held at Pisa, in 1839, and the second, which followed it in the succeeding year, at Turin, provoked equally the jealousy of the Emperor and of the late Pope; and the success which secured, in spite of all opposition, the annual return of such festivals, was the most brilliant triumph which Italy has yet achieved towards its regeneration. A copy-right alliance was formed, which included all the Italian princes, excepting only him of Rome and him of Modena. Gregory XVI. brought all the bigotry and shrivelled littleness of soul, of which he was the embodiment, in opposition to these literary leagues, but all in vain. The great care of that Pontiff, and all his anxiety for the welfare of his subjects, seem to have been spent upon their breathing apparatus. He set himself sternly against railroads, because, as he is reported to have told Cardinal Odeschalci, such swift travelling must involve the choking of its victims. And he feared that the same calamity would attend the use of gas and coal. An English sculptor in the winter of 1845–46 had imported into Rome an Arnott stove, and procured a stock of Sabine coal to give comfort to his barn-like studio. But the first fumes of the genial mineral suffocated the Romans, and he was obliged to yield to the demand of a mob, that he should no longer burn the *carbon fossile*.

The trifling promise of literary coöperation, which seemed to be the only gleam of sunshine in Italy, was of grateful value to her authors. So limited was the range covered by an Italian copy-right, that books might be printed within twenty or thirty miles of the spot of their authorized issue. Botta sold one edition of his History as waste paper in Paris, while Swiss and Italian booksellers were growing rich on successive editions of it. Berchet's "Romanze" — patriotic songs — were circulated in Italy from hand to hand in manuscript, many years after they had been first published in London and Switzerland.

These details may serve to indicate who were the subjects of that Papal amnesty which signalized the opening reign of the present Pontiff. But as our remarks are designed to

bear chiefly upon his territories and upon his temporal and spiritual functions, we proceed to note the condition of things in the States of the Church at the period of his accession.

The whole of Italy, its kingdoms, its provinces, its principalities, and its Papal legations, had furnished contributions of men and material to the reform party, and exiles for the hopeless cause. But though, as we have said, the lower classes of society were not the instigators of insurrection, the abuses under which the Papal dominions especially groaned fell most heavily upon the inferior ranks. The States of the Church, "the patrimony of St. Peter," cover about seventeen thousand square miles of territory, being a little more than a third of the area of the State of New York; and the temporal subjects of the Roman Pontiff are 2,700,000 in number. The revenue of the Roman States, as cast in the closing year of the late Pope, was less than ten millions of dollars, more than a tenth part of it being derived from the profits upon the sale of lottery tickets, which has been for a long period one of the most besotting follies of all Italian states, while Rome has indulged it to the excess of madness. More than half of the annual revenue was absorbed in the expense of collecting it, and in the payment, at Paris and Milan, of the interest of the Papal debt due to France and Austria. The excess of annual expenses over the income was more than a million dollars. By the system on which life-policies and annuities and sums at compound interest are calculated, it might seem as if the rigid operation of the laws of mercantile finance would have hastened the decision of the great question, if the late bewildered Pope had had a more protracted reign. The Emperor of Russia offered him a million of dollars for the group of the Laocoon, and a like sum for the Belvidere Apollo, but Gregory refused the tempting bribes, wisely judging, that, as the classic relics in Rome drew thousands of sight-seers to that centre, and caused the only circulation of money among his subjects, it would be foolish to scatter his curiosities over the world. How much weight this financial risk may have had in dictating the reform policy of Pius the Ninth, it is impossible for us to know, but we cannot but ascribe to it a large influence on his measures. The balance of imports over exports was so disastrously significant of Roman indolence and impolicy, as to indicate the same financial ruin hanging over the Papal dominions. The sound of spindles in the single cotton-fac-

tory on the Campus Martius was but a tantalizing provocative to ridicule.

Ten thousand Swiss mercenaries garrisoned the legations, and surrounded the Papal palaces. Those of the hireling corps who were privileged to attend on the court of the Pontiff, in their gaudily striped apparel, might easily have been taken for court fools, had they not been so numerous. Their appearance and their functions were but poor representations of the romantic ideas associated with the Swiss peasantry. They even cast a doubt upon the truthfulness of the Spanish proverb, "*El animal que mas se semeja á un hombre es un Suizo*, — The animal which most resembles man is a Swiss." The revolt at Bologna, in 1831, so alarmed the late Pope, that he entered into a contract with these mercenaries for twenty years, their officers having stipulated for full pay, with other emoluments and prerogatives, during their whole lives. Of course, the contract with the soldiers not expiring until the year 1851, the present Pontiff has had the burden entailed upon him. Various schemes have been proposed to rid him of it, without heavy pecuniary loss. Whether any profitable shift has yet presented itself to him, we are not informed, further than that he has determined to dispense with their services about his person.

It would be aside from our purpose to follow into details the indications of corruption and exhaustion in the administration of the Papal States. All offices were mortgaged, so that each new incumbent was heavily taxed to secure for himself only a precarious emolument. The censorship of the press stifled all enterprise, and fettered even hope. In these days of brisk and lively popular periodicals, when large sheets, issued morning and evening, will hardly satisfy the appetite of the public wherever the spirit of the age is working, the *Diario di Roma*, a paper in size as large as a common window-pane, and filled with the merest drivelling in high-sounding superlatives about "sacred functions" and ecclesiastico-civil ordinances, furnished the daily nutriment for the Roman mind. If the Christian formula, "The powers that be are ordained of God," be allowed, as is but reasonable, to have a special sanctity when applied to the supreme Pontiff, the highest Christian magistrate, how sadly has it been commented upon in the experience and career of the Popes! Adrian VI., himself the earnest mover of reforms of a far more thorough character than any as yet pro-

jected by Pius IX., composed his own epitaph in the sad words, that he regarded nothing in his whole life more calamitous than that he should have been called to reign. The Popes of Rome have afforded the most signal proof, in their temporal rule, of the truth of the text, "Ye cannot serve God and mammon." They have done enough in their eminent and abused prerogatives to justify at least, if not to have originated, the common notion, that ecclesiastics have no practical knowledge of worldly affairs. To this imputation none of the pretended successors of St. Peter has been more justly obnoxious than Gregory XVI., whose reign of sixteen years was closed by his death on June 1, 1846. He left behind him local and temporal abuses and evils sufficient of themselves to blacken the prospects of his successor, and to sink his own name to an unhonored forgetfulness. Of course, the same state of affairs which was his reproach would signalize as a benefactor any successor who should undertake the task of reform in temporal affairs, without even meditating a purpose of interfering with the ecclesiastical fabric.

To that task Pius IX. devoted himself from the hour on which the conclave of Cardinals announced his election. At his accession, there were more than ten thousand proscribed exiles, violent and dangerous foes of the existing state of things, scattered about in all directions, some at a distance, but most of them hanging upon the borders of Italy. That none of these were wholly idle, we might safely affirm. That many of them were actively engaged in fermenting disaffection, is matter of public notoriety. Italian prisons were filled, and the galley-slaves were very numerous. We must remember, also, that the friends and abettors of the proscribed exiles, who were left at large and extended over circles more or less wide in their influence, were neither silent nor safe.

It was on the 17th of June, 1846, that the Pope promulged his decree of amnesty. The motives assigned in this noble and generous document for the large forbearance of the measure were, that, in the grateful joy of the Pontiff at the popular exultation which greeted his accession, he was saddened at the thought of the families who could not participate in it, because their members were among the exiled and proscribed; and that he had "turned an eye of compassion upon inexperienced young men who had been drawn by fal-

lacious inducements into political turmoil." The offer of the amnesty was a remission of the remainder of their penalty to all his subjects "who find themselves at the present moment in a place of correction, on account of political offences," and a full liberty to return to all, ecclesiastics and officials alone excepted, who had gone to foreign parts for political motives. The only condition required of them was a solemn written declaration, "upon their personal honor, that they would not at any time, or in any place, abuse this concession, but that they would rather endeavour to fulfil every duty of a faithful subject."

That demonstrations of rapturous delight must have followed this announcement, among the remaining friends of the imprisoned and the exiled, may well be believed. Doubtless, the magnanimity of the Pope in connecting no humiliating terms with the enjoyment of his lenity would not less gratefully impress the subjects of it than would the relief and liberty which it conferred. We have no disposition in the slightest degree to detract from the honor due to Pius IX. for his dignified and benevolent exercise of his fresh prerogative, when we say that worldly wisdom had a share in it. Those exiles pledged to quietness at home were harmless, compared with what they would have been, had their continued proscription mingled with the other elements of strife which were set in motion by the temporal and ecclesiastical modifications attending a change in the head of the government.

The Papal amnesty, besides its actual bearings upon the fortunes and dispositions of all who were embraced in it as the subjects of pardon, or were affected by it as their friends, was a measure the importance of which was not confined to its direct operation. It was indicative of a new policy; it was a test measure. So it was regarded by those at the farthest distance, by those who had no participation in its direct effect. So it was regarded by Austria, which had a large interest in its immediate results, and a larger still in the developments which, it could not be overlooked, must necessarily grow out of it. The amnesty involved a train of consequences, and tremendous and inevitable issues, yet to be met and treated in the same spirit as that which dictated the lenient and kindly act of indulgence and oblivion. It was an index, which was well understood to point to an altered policy, to require a succession of like measures to make it harmless, and to carry out its first purpose. By granting

that amnesty, Pius IX. promised all that he has yet allowed or done, and a great deal more. He threw himself with confidence into the arms of the sworn enemies of his predecessor, whom his kindness was to convert into his own applauders and friends. He became answerable in a degree for their conduct in the first excitement of their deliverance, and in the subsequent calmer period of reflection and reoccupation with the daily business of life. He entered into a recognizance for their good behaviour. To them, likewise, he bound himself by an implied pledge to give a fair hearing to the grievances of which they had complained, and to the plans which they had cherished for the renovation of their country. To his temporal subjects at large, the Pope by this act bound himself to a course of action which should harmonize their jealousies and quiet a state of agitation which threatened, not from one quarter only, but from several, to result in a civil war. But to Austria, the Pope, by this act, arrayed himself in direct hostility. He said to the Emperor, — "I have no fear of those proscribed, exiled, and imprisoned thousands, whom you identify with all the risks of revolution. I will grant them a free return and an almost unconditional pardon. Meanwhile it becomes you to open your eyes and to soften your heart, and to liberalize your policy, so that those whom I am willing to receive as harmless citizens shall not become dangerous neighbours to you."

Such were actually the bearings, the operations, and the prospective consequences of the Papal amnesty. Austria, at least, so understood them, and, as we think, rightly judged them. Hence the bold, but iniquitous, plot which scattered armed and reckless men amid the crowd at Rome on a gala-day. Hence the actual outbreak at Ferrara, which cannot as yet be regarded as decisively quieted, and which, by the last information within our reach, had so far discomfited the Pope as to give the actual ascendency there to Austria. The amnesty explains all that has yet transpired, and has caused the enthusiasm and exaggerated expectation which have crossed the ocean.

We may now inquire how far the Pope has pursued the policy of which the amnesty gave promise. Our aim is not to condemn or censure him, nor to lessen the favorable regard which has been excited in all quarters towards him. We are concerned, however, to qualify an enthusiasm which will yet be disappointed. The Pope has not given the

slightest intimation, that, even if his reign should be protracted through the quarter of a century, he will do what many seem strangely to suppose he has already done, — put the temporal government of his States into the hands of his subjects, — introduce all the liberalizing influences of the age, — dispense with an overawing force and make the people their own defenders, — and finally, cause the reflection, at least, of his temporal policy to be cast upon his spiritual rule, so that the Church shall feel the regenerating power of a great reforming head. The Pope has not done either of these things, nor promised to do them. He is a benevolent and generous-minded man. He has confidence in the law of kindness. He has a sense of the evils and burdens which oppress his temporal domains. He knows how far his subjects fall behind other people, with whom they are brought into contact, in the means and results of thrift, mechanical skill, intellectual and physical enterprise. He knows that without purification and renovation there must be revolution, that the walls of the city where he reigns, and the rank Campagna around them, inclose a spot which is just the opposite of an oasis in a desert. The Pope knows all this. His heart is right and pure, and he has vowed before God to be a Christian ruler.

The Pope has emptied a volcano of contents which were just bursting from smoke into a blaze. They were already kindled within, and were a dangerous mass to touch, burning the hands which meddled with them and scorching all with which they came in contact. All that can be said is, that an explosion was averted.

An effect has already been wrought throughout Italy, of course concentrating its influence upon the States of the Church. This effect cannot be judged aright from an American, or even from an English, point of view. Compared with our state of bustle and thrift and enterprise and business, Italy will still look languid when all projected improvements are in motion there. But how great must be the change to an Italian! The opening of the railway from Florence to Leghorn, and the lighting of Bologna with gas, frightened the late Pope nearly out of his wits. But one of the favorite excursions of the present Pontiff is to the iron-works at Tivoli, which he has set in motion, and which are fed by that same *carbon fossile* recently so offensive to those who are known to be wonderfully complacent toward

garlic. The day cannot be far off, when, on the holy festival of Easter, the dome of St. Peter's shall blaze with the radiance of a thousand jets of gas, as a substitute for the lamps which are suspended with such imminent risk to life and limb, that the workmen first partake of the sacrament.

Pius IX. has nobly devoted himself, day and night, to plans and schemes for the relief, the improvement, and the happiness of his subjects. He has opened to the humblest of them the freest access to himself, has heard their most trivial complaints, and visited summary, though merciful, justice upon offenders. He has examined accounts, rebuked waste, and demanded economy. He has shown himself frequently in public, with and without the formalities of his exalted station. He has not feared to apply his searching tests to the most eminent and privileged in rank, and has run the risk of raising up against himself many dangerous private foes, as well as more than one cabal of powerful complotters. True to the wise instinct which can discern how little things are signs of greater things, especially by force of contrast, he has sought to give a changed appearance to some matters, which stood rather as symbols of the difference between the past and the present, than as actual evidences of Italian laggardness in adopting modern improvements. So the old clock upon the post-office in the forum of Antonine no longer counts twenty-four, but has a new dial, over which the busier hands must now travel twice in a day. No longer shall travellers, in going for their letters, be startled by the bulletin, "*The bureau of the post will open itself at twenty-three hours.*" It is to be hoped that the vile lottery-office with its garish flags, and its lying lures, standing near by, will be turned to a more honest and healthful use.

Besides all the measures of reform and improvement in great and little matters which the Pope has already effected, and which entitle him to the grateful esteem of his temporal subjects, he has projected yet others; but his attention has been distracted from all ameliorating designs, by the honest alarm, and by the counterfeited apprehension, which his measures have excited. Nor should we omit the mention of that eminent Christian grace which he has exhibited, in doing favors and conciliating prejudices with a delicate regard to the feelings of those concerned. In this spirit he dispensed with the customary tribute and supplication offered to the Pontiffs on their inauguration by the Jews, at the Arch of

Titus, that hateful emblem of their temple's fate. This was one breach of custom, which, with others, gave a novel interest to the inaugural procession of Pius IX.

When we again remind our readers that all these reforms of the Pontiff have been carried through in spite of the dogged discountenance and protests of Austrian emissaries and interlopers, their actual value will be more duly appreciated. We believe we have done justice to the benevolence and integrity of the Pope, though we have given only this general summary of his manifestations of them. We have thus presented the amount of his actual liberalism, and have stated all the grounds upon which the enthusiastic interest felt in him, even at the greatest distance, can claim to sustain itself. It is but fair that we now advert to the qualifying considerations which should moderate, at least, our expectations.

The Pope has had the credit of two acts, displaying great confidence in his subjects, and great fearlessness of the spirit of the age, which have, doubtless by natural misapprehension, but without truth, been attributed to him and in many quarters stoutly claimed for him. Whether he purposed to do them and was restrained by fear of Austria does not appear, but the alleged acts have not been done. One was stated to be the formation of a National Guard, by which his people were made their own defenders. The terms of such a measure would imply that arms and ammunition had been furnished to his subjects at large, and that a militia had been organized. The whole fact, however, is, that the Pope has dispensed with the Swiss hirelings, and has formed a civic guard about his person and palaces, of which he offered himself as colonel. He actually is now the colonel of his own civic guard, composed principally of young men of family. The other liberal measure falsely ascribed to him is a removal of the censorship of the press. The terms of this measure would imply full liberty of unlicensed printing, and irresponsibility, except under the law of libel, for expressed opinions. This is not so. The press has not been formally enfranchised in the States of the Church. But the whole basis of fact for the prevailing belief is, that the publication of papers and books which have not passed the censorship has been, to some extent, quietly winked at. The law has been allowed to slumber, not exactly as a sly cat slumbers, but rather as a watchful dog

slumbers. Four daily papers started at once into existence at Rome, and were freely circulated; for the most part, they were inoffensive in their contents. Some bolder liberties were attempted in publications which were more covertly circulated. But the law still retains the vital power, and the strength of muscle, and the necessary reinforcements of aid, to pounce upon any daring offender. Indeed, it has already exercised itself in several instances, and by our last advices from Italy its most stringent operation had been restored. The Pope, therefore, has not ventured on either of the risks or the liberal acts of confidence for which he has had credit.

We are now prepared to meet the question which is of chief interest to us, whether there is the slightest ground for hoping or believing that the Pope will touch the fabric of the Church, to repair or remodel it, externally or internally. Will he venture upon any suggestion even of a spiritual reform, or upon any measure designed to soften the prejudices either of Romanist or Protestant? Will he condescend to investigate the grounds of discontent among the disciples of his Church, which began in disaffections in Southern Germany seven years ago? Will he deign to give attention to the more recent demonstration connected with the German Catholic Church? Can he by any force of circumstances be moved to allow, over the whole extent of his spiritual supremacy, the limitations of its exercise which the civil power claims as its right in the Gallican Church? We might multiply these questions, but they would merely reiterate the same one question, — whether the Roman Catholic Church will be modified, either in doctrine or discipline, by Pius IX. This question involves an alternative in its reply. Two contingencies may be recognized in it. First, whether the Pope is a liberal and a reformer in any such sense that his measures will at last lead to a reconciliation between the Church and the philosophy and freedom of the age; secondly, whether the removal of restraints, and the quickening of thought into action, which he directly favors, will lead his adherents to take the matter into their own hands, and carry into the Church the reform which he begins in the State. We confess that the question we have asked above has an anxious interest for us, because of its involving this alternative. The whole promise of reform in Italy is that it arises from within. The Pope of Rome is sincere in his liberal-

ism. Are the liberals sincere in their Romanism? Popular expectation, among Protestants, at least, most resolutely and complacently cherishes the hope of ecclesiastical reform. Else why has the Christian world been summoned to congratulate the Pope, to toast him, to address him, to seek for extended diplomatic relations with him, and to offer him a canonization which none of his predecessors have ever received? A reforming Pope, three years ago, would have suggested as strange a confusion of ideas as would a round triangle. But having been startled into a repetition in one breath of the most revolutionary word of our own times and the most bigotedly conservative word of past times, the hopes of Protestants are now running riot.

As to any meditated purpose of reform in the Church by the Pope himself, not a word is needed by way of argument or consideration. Not the slightest hint of any such purpose has been dropped, not a word has been ascribed to him which has the remotest bearing upon it. Nor is there ground for the more rational supposition, that he will be led or driven by his own progress in temporal reforms, by consistency, or growing liberality of spirit, to raise a single query about the Church in its ecclesiastical relations. There is no necessary connection between such a result and any step he has taken, or would take, even if he were to reform his dominions into republicanism and democracy. It might be enough to say, that the Pope is personally powerless as to the least alteration in the doctrines or discipline of the Church. Only a general council can exert that authority, and among the prerogatives of such a council is included that of nullifying a Pope's measures, and a Pope himself. Of the assembling of a general council before a quarter of a century has transpired, there is possibly some room for hope. But not if the occasion for it should arise only from the Pope. Should a council be expected to favor any purpose of his, it would be opposed or contravened by interested parties. Should it suit the purposes of others, it might find an obstacle in him. If some contingency were to arise, in which Pope and prelates assented to a council, the hope disappointed at Trent might be rekindled.

But it is by no means unusual to find in a marked and eminent character the spirit of reform and freedom in temporal matters, combined with either a total indifference to matters of religion, doctrine, and discipline, or a tenacious and bigot-

ed conservatism in that direction. The period of English Puritanism afforded many specimens of both combinations of these elements of character. We should not be at all astounded, if every act and measure of a religious bearing, devised by Pius IX., and all his influence in ecclesiastical policy, were to be on the side of bigotry and conservatism. Has not the Pope already given proof of his tendency in that direction in his rescript against the Irish colleges? The government of Sir Robert Peel devised a liberal measure for the welfare of Ireland; but, like many other things connected with Ireland, it seems to have been taken by contraries. It was proposed to establish free academical institutions there, for secular education, apart from all religious instruction, which was to be obtained by parents or pupils from their own several religious denominations. Some Irish prelates approved the design. The Pope vetoed it, and bade his subordinates retract. We know that the English Liberal journals attributed his veto to misrepresentations which had been made to him as to the design of the colleges and the condition of things in Ireland. But this we see no reason to credit, for the Pope does not appear to take such matters on trust. At any rate, he has forbidden his adherents to be concerned in the colleges, as he insists that secular education and *Catholic* training cannot be divorced.

The enthusiasm felt for the Pope in England received a very sensible check, when the news of the rescript of the Propaganda, as sanctioned by him, arrived there. His decisive adherence to the policy which the Church has always maintained had a tendency to remind some zealous advocates of progress that his Holiness existed and acted in two very distinct capacities, as temporal ruler of St. Peter's patrimony, and as head of the Church.

The personal popularity of the Pope has led to much discussion upon the renewal of diplomatic relations between that see and the court of England. What England could hope to gain by that measure, beyond an earlier and more intimate acquaintance with the intrigues, rivalries, and intentions of the court of Rome, and the machinations of her jealous neighbours, it would be difficult to say. It is also an embarrassing question, whether the motion towards such a restored official connection should be made by England or by Rome. If Rome did not break the former bond of union, she at any rate made the rupture wide and deep, and

very difficult to close, by her ban of excommunication and her interdict, and by her reiterated curses upon the heretical monarchs and people of Great Britain. Shall England ask to have these alienating offences removed? That would be to acknowledge that she feels their force, and is oppressed by their weight, or else that she considers them merely as insults. Now England would scarce allow that she feels them as an ecclesiastical ban, and Rome would hardly consent to consider them as no weightier than reproaches or insults. Shall Rome revoke them unasked? How can she make such a concession? Shall diplomatic relations be restored as if first entered upon, with no mention, but with total oblivion, of the past? How is the reconciliation to be brought about? Again, England would not probably consent that the see of Rome should be represented at her court by an ecclesiastic, and it would be an anomaly for Rome to send any other. "But it is not for us to settle such strifes." We may record, in passing, that one of the chaplains of Queen Victoria has written to her, informing her that Father Ventura, a famous preacher at Rome, used the most insulting language concerning her and her realm, in his funeral discourse upon O'Connell in that city. The queen seems to have passed the matter by. Perhaps it was as well that there was no English ambassador at Rome at that time.

The opening of diplomatic relations between our own government and the court of Rome has likewise been discussed. That the principal motives for it on our part are to aggrandize ourselves, to have a hand in any fermentations that may ensue, to add one more to our places of privilege and public pay, may be allowed. There are materials for a discussion of the question which it would be aside from our purpose to offer here. The suggestion doubtless originated in the popularity of the present Pontiff. It would probably never have come up, to the end of time, had Gregory continued to reign. And this leads us to say a few words upon the demonstrations which have been made at New York and Philadelphia, of sympathy for the Pope. The prime movers of those meetings were our active philanthropic reformers. Their motives were, doubtless, pure and high. They think they see in the Pope one who, in his exalted position, amidst strong opposing influences, is devotedly engaged in advancing the noblest interests of the race towards general

freedom and enlightenment of mind and body and soul. They thought he would be cheered by sounds of encouragement from this land of liberty, — bating its three million slaves. Letters were written to distinguished men, who did not attend, but whose answers are made to appear as parts of the *proceedings* of the meetings. Addresses and resolutions were drawn up and engrossed, and transmitted to the Pope, with great apparent unanimity, and some few men, with their exaggerated and enthusiastic views of things, speaking or writing from the excitement of the moment, are made to represent at Rome the general and prevailing sentiment through the United States. We regretted the occurrence of those meetings, nor did we accord with much of their proceedings. We must object, likewise, to the unqualified and one-sided views advanced in the addresses. The meetings and the documents are likely to be much misunderstood in Rome. They do not say what the voice of this nation would say to the Pope, had it an opportunity to speak. They do not deal with that kind, and form, and tenure of liberty which we estimate more highly than any which the Pope is likely to bestow upon his subjects. Those documents may perhaps strengthen the Pope against his own subjects. They are good for him to use in two ways. Then, again, they may put us, as a people, in a false position. We wish to know more about Pius IX. before we strike hands with him or indorse him. Any one who has read the life of Cardinal Cheverus, and has noted what silly tales are told therein of the devotion, and maudlin affection, and cringing veneration with which he was regarded by the men and women of Boston, while he was a Roman Catholic bishop here, will perhaps participate in our feelings. One would suppose, from the idle stories in that book, that a good and kind Christian had never been seen in Boston before him, and that the ladies followed him to the ship at parting, and dashed into the bay in sorrow when he was gone. So exaggerated was Protestant regard!

But if the Pope neither intends any ecclesiastical reform, nor will be likely to be led or driven to it by his own course of policy, the alternative is still possible, that his spiritual subjects may be moved, by the force of their own larger liberty near the throne of the Pontiff, to ask for, to demand, and to secure some modifications either of the doctrine or the discipline of the Church. So broad a discussion would

this consideration involve, that we cannot enter upon it here. The Roman Church has never yet made a concession. Let this fact be well remembered. It is by no means impossible that the liberal policy of the Pope may strengthen the Church, and win back the faith and love of many of her merely nominal disciples. It is generally understood that infidelity and indifference prevail more extensively, in high places and in low places, in Italy than in any other part of Christendom. This is said to be the state of mind of many Italians who have some knowledge of Protestantism, with its large liberty of thought and its means of relieving a disturbed mind. But the most prominent features which Protestantism presents to Catholics, so called, are its diversities, its variations, its dissensions, its innumerable pamphlet controversies, its limitless range of debate, and its incompleteness. This makes Protestantism unattractive and repulsive, even to unbelieving Romanists. They cling to the idea of unity. Unbelief and general skepticism are far less abhorrent to them than lawless variety. A large amount of prevailing indifference and infidelity has ever attended the Roman faith; but still the idea of unity has been retained as a fond conceit, while a reckless license has made free with the whole substance and all the forms of religion.

That the temporal policy of a Pope can work any extraordinary change in the influences which affect the minds of thousands for or against religion, is hardly to be supposed. Our highest expectations of all that Pius IX. proposes to accomplish, or can accomplish, will be fulfilled, if he adds the weight of one noble and devoted laborer, in an exalted sphere of action, to the side of human happiness and progress. We hope that he may be able to repeat, with a cheerful construction of the sentence, the desponding exclamation of Adrian VI., — "Let a man be never so good, how much depends upon the times in which he is born!" With good times for a good man, we may look for some good results. A Pope's reign is generally too short to allow him to stamp the impress of his character permanently even upon one age. The Roman Pontiffs have been elected, for the most part, when they have been advanced in years, and have not had time to work any long effect. The list of the Popes, taking it on the authority of the Church itself, though, of course, we regard parts of it as fabulous, embraces two hundred and fifty-nine names, including St. Peter and Pius IX. Thus seven years has been

the average period for the reign of each. Great revolutions have taken place in shorter periods, but reforms require more extended spaces of time, to be thorough and secure, and to bear the risk of a change in the individual who stands at the head of a government.

We will still hope for much from the reign of Pius IX., — much for the happiness of his own subjects, the good of the Christian Church, and the advancement of every cause of righteousness and progress. There are some matters which lie between temporal and spiritual interests, and partake of the relations of each, over which his power extends, and where he may exert it. But, as we judge, true reform can triumph in the Roman States only when it is no longer in the power of a Pope to say that it shall or shall not triumph. G. E. E.

Art. VII. — HEDGE'S PROSE-WRITERS OF GERMANY.*

Within the last quarter of a century, the rich world of German literature has been steadily rolling into sight, and a multitude of eyes are now earnestly engaged, with such aids as they can command, in exploring its wide domains. A fashion is setting in, almost amounting to a rage, for the study of the German language. Translations from the German, in prose and poetry, are appearing in all manner of periodicals. While we are thus certainly approaching to a more intelligent appreciation of the German mind and its creations, it is still far from being settled to the general satisfaction, whether this new light which is streaming in upon us, investing things with so many strange colors, comes from a new planet of the first magnitude with a somewhat hazy atmosphere, or from some stray nebula without nucleus or solidity, portentous of most disastrous changes, and threatening to rival the moon in driving men mad.

That the fears of people have been in any degree allayed, that a correct idea of the worth of German literature is beginning to gain ground, is due to Thomas Carlyle. He has introduced Germany to England, thereby discharging a

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* *Prose-Writers of Germany.* By Frederic H. Hedge. Illustrated with Portraits. Philadelphia: Carey & Hart. 1848. 8vo. pp. 567.

great office of humanity. To bring two individuals who were strangers to each other, one of whom regarded the other with prejudice and contempt, into relations of mutual respect, is to perform a most Christian act. To displace ignorance by knowledge, an excluding pride by a sincere good-will, is to enlarge the boundaries of the invisible Christendom. To teach a man to pay his neighbour the respect to which that neighbour is entitled, is to confer upon him a new claim to be respected himself. How grand the service rendered, then, when ties of mutual kindness are created between two large communities, and such communities as England and Germany! He who renders the world such a service must be ranked among our greatest benefactors. The heartiest acknowledgments are due to Mr. Carlyle. We are grateful to him for the manifest and inestimable good that he has done.

At the same time, it is not to be overlooked that Mr. Carlyle has impaired the value of his benefaction, not merely by his disloyal desertion of "the pure wells of English undefiled," (with Sir Walter Scott, we like a quotation that is not hackneyed,) but also by an imitation of German modes of thought, altogether too close to be consistent with the intellectual independence which Mr. Carlyle appears to guard with such unsleeping jealousy. We admit, with some abatement, the common objections to the style of this remarkable writer. It is frequently as twisted and fantastic as those Chinese ornaments carved out of the roots of trees. Amidst endless convolutions and contortions there must needs be some accidental graces, and amidst all varieties of sounds some exquisite chords and cadences. Still, if, with no pretensions on this score, we may pass such a judgment, we apprehend that Mr. Carlyle has very little ear for music, and that there are more reasons than lie in his will why, poet as he is, he rarely versifies. To our sense, his style continually offends against all harmony. It is a breathless business to read him aloud. And this, we suppose, is one reason why so many persons are repelled from him. This much, however, may be said in extenuation of his peculiarities, that they have helped to reveal the versatility of which our language is susceptible, and to show that tameness is not a necessary quality of the English tongue. Still, Mr. Carlyle lacks simplicity; a very serious want. He writes in German slightly Anglicized. We should not venture this criti-

cism, if we believed his style to be sincerely his own. In that case, we should accept it as his and be thankful. It is not well to "look a gift horse in the mouth." But here there is manifest room for doubt. Certain it is, that his present style is not his first style. In his earlier writings, his Life of Schiller, for instance, hardly a trace is visible, as all his readers know, of those characteristics with which his later productions have been successively more and more marked. The change which his manner of writing has undergone, comparing his earliest works with his latest, is most remarkable. We know of nothing like it in any great writer that we are acquainted with. With all our admiration of Carlyle, we cannot escape the impression, that his style is a borrowed one; especially when we note his close imitation of German models, — of Richter in particular. To our apprehension, Carlyle is Richter Redivivus, with the slightest variations, not merely in forms of expression, but in ways of thinking and turns of humor. It is true, the Briton does not shed as many tears as the German. Richter's heroes rival even *pius Æneas* in the sensibility of their lachrymatory organs. And while Carlyle laughs as much, his mirth is grim, as if it were echoed out of cavernous depths of indignation and suffering. With these differences, the *Leibgeber* and *Siebenkäs* of Richter's romances are not more truly copies, one of the other, than Carlyle is of Richter. We cannot read one without being reminded of the other, and not seldom of particular passages in the other. We have no thought of insinuating a charge of plagiarism against Carlyle. His unquestionable originality raises him far above that. But it appears to us as if Richter had so entirely possessed Carlyle, that the latter is at times completely overpowered, and can only speak the thoughts, and in the humor, of his demon. As a mere curiosity, this strong resemblance and occasional identity of two minds of extraordinary power is so striking, that we wonder it has never been noticed. How it is to be explained, — to speak with Mr. Carlyle, — "were wise who wist."

Nevertheless, we repeat, Mr. Carlyle has rendered us all a service the value of which it is not within our ability to estimate. He it is who has awakened on English soil the interest which is growing wider and deeper every day in German literature. In the chronicles of literary history it

will stand recorded, that the appearance of this writer was the beginning of an intellectual federation of the German and English minds; we ought rather to say, perhaps, the beginning of a knowledge of German literature among Englishmen and the allies of Englishmen, for we find a marvellous familiarity with English literature in German works published fifty years ago. Swift and Sterne seem to have been as well known to Richter, for example, as if they were his own native teachers. And Shakspeare found his first philosophical appreciation among the Germans; a fact that alone should make us blush for the flippancy with which we were once disposed to regard the Germans, as if they were semi-barbarians at best, with no sound principles of thought, — a people upon the worth of whose intellectual culture no dependence was to be placed. Our English pride might suggest to us, that, readers of English works, intelligent lovers of Shakspeare, the Germans have had some worthy guides.

> "*They* have seen some majesty, and should know.
> Have *they* seen majesty? Isis else defend!
> And *reading us* so long!"

We disparage our own magnificent literature, with Shakspeare at its head, if we suppose that it could have been so diligently studied and so wisely valued without fruit in the German mind. Have they been at school to the English so long, and turned out dullards? The truth is, they knew what the English were about long before they themselves were known, even among our most highly educated. The modes of thought just beginning to appear among us came out in full flower in Germany half a century ago, and more. As Carlyle has said of English Utilitarians, so is it with our young philosophers of these days; they are so far in the rear, that they fancy themselves in the van.

"But the Germans are a nation of dreamers." Without doubt, they are "first-rate" at dreaming. But dreaming has its significance, if dreams have not. It shows an active intellectual nature. Coleridge, is it not? — no high authority, we know, among the unbelieving, — advises young men to look to the quality of their dreams, if they would be assured of the possession of the divine gift. But this by the way. For ourselves, to be greatly prepossessed in favor of the genius of the German people, we have only to bring to

mind German art, the music and painting of the Germans. We do not presume to talk about their classics in music, Mozart and Beethoven, but we are thinking of the national airs of Germany, those harmonies which have come out of the heart of the people, or been at once universally adopted as the musical language of the country. Is there any music so expressive, purely as music ? Is there any music that so little needs interpretation for the uninitiated in the divine art, and that strikes so directly to the heart, awakening a thousand mysterious echoes, which come floating around us as from our birthplaces and homes ? As in music, so in painting, the Germans hold strongly to nature ; and thus some presumption is created in favor of the German nature generally. Let any one study the " Outlines " of Retzsch, the " Christus Consolator " of Ary Schaeffer, or that beautiful print of the " St. Catharine borne by Angels to Heaven," after Mücke, and the " Illustration of the One Hundred and Thirty-seventh Psalm," after Bendemann, and it will be felt that in respect to art the Germans are in profound sympathy with truth. Such works could hardly be produced by an artificial or superficial people.

And here it will not be out of place to express our admiration of the noble genius of the artist, a design from whose pencil graces the title-page of Mr. Hedge's book, representing, as we interpret it, the triumph of letters over barbarian force. Mr. Leutze's name shows his German descent ; and although he is a loyal American, and from early childhood until within a few years has been a resident in the United States, identified with us in language and by citizenship, yet it is upon German soil, and in association with eminent German artists, Lessing, Overbach, and others, and under the inspiring influences of German literature, as he himself gratefully acknowledges, that his genius has been nursed into whatever vigor it now shows. We claim him, and he considers himself, an American artist ; and among our artists, young as he is, he stands second to none. His works (the bare titles of which indicate genius), " The Landing of the Northmen," " Cromwell and his Daughter," " John Knox and Mary, Queen of Scots," " Columbus received by Ferdinand and Isabella at Barcelona," and others, appeal to no questionable sense of beauty, but to our highest sentiments, and in this respect are akin to all of German art that we have had the good fortune to see. The exquisite works

of the German sculptor, Steinhauser, a few specimens of whose skill have been brought to this country, are eloquent witnesses to the depth and humanity of German genius. This artist is no copyist of the antique. He sees beauty in the familiar. His "Craw-fish Catcher" is the very personification of Success, — the idea in marble of Triumph. It is worth a visit to Philadelphia, from any part of the country, to see the "Agnus Dei" of this artist. A child, whose upturned face is a mirror of the heaven into which he is gazing, is represented in a perfect attitude of repose, with one foot upon the head of a serpent, whose body is coiled round the base of the statue, while the tail of the serpent is wound spirally round the cross upon which the child is leaning. This beautiful work symbolizes much. It expresses a world of truth. And he is to be pitied who can stand before it and feel no sentiment of reverence for the nation of whose power in art it is the witness and the representative. Such a vision of beauty, such an embodiment of the religion of love, must crush the serpent of prejudice.

The volume which has furnished occasion for the foregoing remarks will, we trust, help the good understanding of German letters among us. It contains biographical notices, with extracts from their works, of twenty-eight different writers. It makes no pretence, as Mr. Hedge states in the Preface, "to be a complete exhibition of the prose literature" of Germany. It is simply a selection, and a selection made under some obvious disadvantages. It testifies fully to the excellent qualifications of the editor, who, to a familiar knowledge of the German language, in which he has few equals on this side of the Atlantic, adds a mastery almost as rare of the English. It has not been sufficiently considered, that to the success of translation two things are indispensable; not only a knowledge of the language from which, but also a knowledge of the language into which, the translation is to be made. Many of our English translations from foreign languages, and from the German in particular, prove failures, because the translators have been defective in their English as well as in their German. Again, the frequent reading of a foreign language familiarizes us with its idioms, and, unless we have entire command of our own language, we are apt to transfer those idioms into our translations, insensible of the awkwardness which they must wear to the English reader. Thus translations seldom exhibit

ease. The thoughts expressed seem almost always to be mutilated and bruised in the process of transportation. They are stiff with the injuries they have suffered. They lose all health and nature.

We read Mr. Hedge's translations with peculiar satisfaction. While we have every warrant for their fidelity, we are not offended with improprieties of language, or harsh, un-English constructions. His carefulness never abates. His poetical translations from the German we have always considered as quite unequalled. As they are scattered in fugitive publications, and as they demonstrate his quality as a translator, we cannot deny ourselves the pleasure of transcribing here one or two specimens which are models of excellence in this department, representing the thought, breathing the spirit, and echoing the music, of the originals. Take, for example, the first three stanzas of his translation of Goethe's "Singer."

"'What strains are these before the gate?
Upon the bridge what chorus?
Go, bring the minstrel hither straight,
And let him play before us!'
The king commands, the page retires;
The page returns, the king requires
The aged man to enter.

"'God greet ye, lords and ladies gay!
What wealth of starry lustre!
Star upon star in rich array, —
Who names each shining cluster?
Amidst such wealth and pomp sublime,
Shut, shut, mine eyes! this is no time
To gaze in stupid wonder.'

"He closed his eyes, he struck a chord,
A brave old ditty played he;
Looked boldly on each noble lord,
And in her lap each lady.
The king, delighted with the strain,
Commanded that a golden chain
Reward the honored singer."

Let any one compare the following translation of Goethe's well-known ballad of "The Fisher," with the German, and

see how faithfully the musical ripple of the original, as well as its sense, is expressed.

"The waters rushed, the waters swelled,
A fisher sat thereby,
Cool to the waist his angle held,
And watched it with his eye.

"And as he sits and watches there,
Behold! the waves divide,
With dripping hair a maiden fair
Is seen upon the tide.

"She spake to him, she sang to him,—
'My brood who dwell below,
With mortal guile, why dost thou wile
To daylight's deadly glow?

"'Ah! knewest thou how cheerily
The little fishes fare,
Thou 'dst dive with me beneath the sea
And find true pleasure there.

"'Doth not the daily sun at noon
His limbs in ocean lave?
Doth not the ripple-breathing moon
Look lovelier from the wave?

"'Do not the skies reflected wear
A wave-transfigured blue?
And doth not thine own image there
Smile through the eternal dew?'

"The waters rush, the waters swell,
They wet his naked feet,
His heaving bosom feels the spell,
As when his love doth greet.

"She spake to him, she sang to him,—
With him then all was o'er;
She half compels, and half he wills,
And sinks, to rise no more."

Such admirable translations as these of German poetry raise expectations of Mr. Hedge's success in prose translation, which the present volume will not disappoint. We re-

fer our readers to the specimens which it presents of Luther, Sancta Clara, Wieland, and Fichte, as examples of successful translation. While the differences of style in each are marked, the language in all flows on with perfect smoothness. The structure of the sentences is always English. In his translations from the first two writers just mentioned, Mr. Hedge has been particularly happy in the antique character of the style, which is simple, but not affected. We quote Luther's prayer at the Diet of Worms, for its own sake. It breathes throughout the tenderness and strength of that great heart.

"Almighty, eternal God! What a strange thing is this world! How doth it open wide the mouths of the people! How small and poor is the confidence of men toward God! How is the flesh so tender and weak, and the Devil so mighty and so busy through his apostles and the wise of this world! How soon do they withdraw the hand, and whirl away and run the common path and the broad way to hell, where the godless belong! They look only upon that which is splendid and powerful, great and mighty, and which hath consideration. If I turn my eyes thither also, it is all over with me; the bell is cast and the judgment is pronounced. Ah God! Ah God! O Thou my God! Thou my God, stand Thou by me against the reason and wisdom of all the world! Do thou so! Thou must do it, Thou alone. Behold, it is not my cause, but Thine. For my own person, I have nothing to do here with these great lords of the world. Gladly would I, too, have good quiet days and live unperplexed. But Thine is the cause, Lord; it is just and eternal. Stand Thou by me, Thou true, eternal God! I confide in no man. It is to no purpose and in vain. Every thing halteth that is fleshly, or that savoreth of flesh. O God! O God! Hearest Thou not, my God? Art Thou dead? No! Thou canst not die. Thou only hidest thyself. Hast Thou chosen me for this end? I ask Thee. But I know for a surety that Thou hast chosen me. Ha! then may God direct it! For never did I think, in all my life, to be opposed to such great lords; neither have I intended it. Ha! God, then stand by me in the name of Jesus Christ, who shall be my shelter and my shield, yea! my firm tower, through the might and strengthening of thy Holy Spirit. Lord! where stayest Thou? Thou my God! where art Thou? Come, come! I am ready even to lay down my life for this cause, patient as a little lamb. For just is the cause, and Thine. So will I not separate myself from Thee for ever. Be it determined in Thy name! The world shall not be able to force me against my conscience, though it were full of devils. And

though my body, originally the work and creature of Thy hands, go to destruction in this cause, — yea, though it be shattered in pieces, — Thy word and Thy Spirit, they are good to me still! It concerneth only the body. The soul is Thine and belongeth to Thee, and shall also remain with Thee, for ever. Amen. God help me! Amen." — p. 20.

We have no inclination, even if we had the ability, to make a collection, in this notice, of the fine passages in the volume before us. How often have we been disappointed, on impatiently opening a volume, some acquaintance with which had been previously obtained from a review, to find that we had already been made familiar with the best things in it, and that the reviewer had culled all its beauties! The writers from whom selections have been made, in this work, are of unequal interest. The extracts from Jacob Boehme will baffle "the intelligent reader." The sketch of Hamann creates an expectation which the specimen given of his writings entirely disappoints, and we do not understand why the editor gave us an extract ("The Merchant"), which the author was "hardly willing to publish with the rest of his works." We were anxious for something better from a writer to whom Richter confesses such great obligations. The extracts from Goethe are unnecessarily copious. We do not know but that there is a little too much of German philosophy in this selection; and yet we admit the impossibility of giving the English reader any idea of that airy fabric by the exhibition of a few bricks from the edifice. Of the depth and acuteness of German criticism the extracts from Mendelssohn and Lessing and Schiller are striking specimens. A brief essay by Hegel, entitled, "Who thinks abstractly?" is worthy of attention for its discrimination and truth.

Independently of the translations, which make up the greater part of the book, the biographical notices would form a valuable volume by themselves. They are evidently prepared with great care, and marked with the clearness and calmness which characterize Mr. Hedge as a writer. An ardent admirer of German literature, he never appears as the heated partisan or advocate, but as a just judge. He loves the Germans. He agrees with them in his philosophy, but he has not gone over to them. He always stands on English ground. We refer our readers particularly to the account given in this volume of Goethe. It is worthy the

careful attention of all who are desirous of arriving at a just appreciation of that extraordinary man. We conclude this inadequate notice with an extract from the sketch of Goethe, which, while it illustrates Mr. Hedge's style of thought and expression, will serve as an admonitory hint to those who may be deterred by unreasonable expectations from giving to his work the welcome which it deserves.

"We are apt to deceive ourselves as to the moral value of certain impressions derived from books. We mistake the transient excitation of the nobler sentiments produced by eloquent declamation, or by the exhibition of romantic excellence in works of fiction, — by such characters, for instance, as the Marquis of Posa in Don Carlos, — for a genuine renewal of the moral man. We think we are burnt clean by the temporary glow into which we are thrown. The nature of such excitement differs but little from that produced by alcoholic stimulants, amid animated discussion and congenial friends. It is stimulus without nourishment, ebullition without growth. It has something maudlin. It acts chiefly on the nerves. Its final effect is rather to enervate than to educate the soul. He only instructs who gives me light, who effects a permanent lodgment, in the mind, of some essential truth. The effective moralist is not the enthusiast, but the impartial and clear-seeing witness; not he who declaims most eloquently about truth, but he who makes me see it, who gives me a clear intuition of a moral fact." — p. 267.

W. H F.

Art. VIII. — PRISON DISCIPLINE.*

Mr. Gray's pamphlet is by far the most able argument against the Separate System of imprisonment that we have seen. We have no doubt that it is also the most valuable work on Prison Discipline that has yet appeared in this country. At first, we were inclined to consider it a very strong and skilful argument, rather than a comprehensive judicial summary. But a minute examination of its most important statements, together with a pretty careful survey of the whole field from which its selections have been made,

* *Prison Discipline in America.* By Francis C. Gray. Boston: Charles C. Little & James Brown. 1847. pp. 203.

has convinced us, not only of the remarkable accuracy of its statements, but of the general fairness which has been used in selecting the particular facts that are brought to bear upon the subject. In some respects, we think it gives too little credit to the Separate System for what are unquestionable advantages in its discipline, and sometimes, though very seldom, facts going to show such superiority are left out, which might be introduced. There are, also, if we mistake not, a few sharp thrusts at persons engaged in a recent controversy here, which, however suitable in a public debate, might, perhaps, be advantageously omitted in a grave treatise like this. With these slight exceptions, and they are very slight, we think the pamphlet remarkable for the fidelity and singleness of purpose with which it follows out its subject, for the wisdom and pertinency of its general remarks, and the force of its particular facts. It is clear, and yet compact, with no unnecessary amplification of words or emotions. If any of our readers, who have not time to look through the original documents, would understand the merits of the controversy, they will find pretty much all that is essential to the argument in this pamphlet, and in another of about half its size, by Dr. S. G. Howe, entitled "An Essay on Separate and Congregate Systems of Prison Discipline," which was published by William D. Ticknor & Co., in 1846.

The question at issue is simply this, Whether it is better that convicts, during the whole term of their imprisonment, should be entirely separated from one another, or that they should work together under the close and constant supervision of the officers of the prison, and at all times, except while at work, or at school, or at public worship, be confined, each one in his separate cell.* These two systems, particularly as applied, the one in the Eastern Penitentiary at Philadelphia, and the other in our own State prison at Charlestown, are subjected by Mr. Gray to a severe comparison, in respect to their influence on the character, the bodily health, and the mental sanity of the convict. In this article, we shall follow him, step by step, under these different heads.

* In speaking of the Charlestown prison, Mr. Gray says: — "Besides kindness, good order, and moral and religious instruction, which belong equally to every humane system, there is nothing essential to this, excepting social labor, with the injunction of silence, under strict supervision during the day, and solitary confinement in the intervals of instruction and labor." — p. 59.

Under the first head, the reformation of the offender, Mr. Gray's reasoning and our own further investigations are much less conclusive against the Separate System than on either of the other points. Mr. Gray argues, first, that no decisive inferences in this matter can be drawn from the imperfect records which we have of recommitments in different prisons, and, secondly, that industrious habits, and the ability to provide for himself by skill in some gainful calling, must be a great security to the convict on leaving the prison, and that these are most likely to be acquired under the Congregate System. In both these arguments he is undoubtedly right; and yet these imperfect records of recommitments, unsatisfactory as they are, do, we think, furnish an indication, slight, it may be, but still an indication, of the superior efficacy of the Separate System in this respect. While we attach very great importance to the forming of industrious habits as a means of security, we must not overlook the influences which, under the different systems, are made to act on the mind and character of the prisoner. The testimony on this point, particularly in England, is as decided as from its nature it well could be in favor of the Separate System, at least during the early stages of imprisonment. And this is in accordance with what we should expect, from our knowledge of human nature. It does seem to us, that, if suitable teachers could be provided, an immense influence might be exercised over the minds of young convicts, during the first three months of their imprisonment, if they should be kept entirely apart from the influence of other minds, in their separate cells, their daily tasks interrupted, and their solitary meditations directed, by occasional words of judicious admonition and kindness. If there ever be a time when they would rejoice to unburden themselves of their secret thoughts, and with sincere penitence form resolutions of future amendment, it must be then, under the influence of such a system. And when new purposes of life are thus formed, the prisoner might, by degrees, be allowed to associate at first with a few chosen companions from among the convicts, and then with others, till his resolutions have acquired something of the consistency of moral principle, and he is prepared to go out with comparative security into the world.

As to the effect of imprisonment in deterring men from crime, we believe that a great deal too much has been ex-

pected from it. But it is very properly one of the purposes of punishment, and, in this particular, we have little doubt that separate confinement is the most effective. The testimony is not decisive, but it leaves us with a strong impression, that the Pennsylvania system is regarded by criminals with greater dread than the other. And here we would say, that we do not recognize the inconsistency which Mr. Gray sees between the two extracts that he makes, pp. 63–65, from Dr. Howe; since the sort of confinement most terrible to the imagination of felons, or those in danger of becoming so, may be the most merciful to the majority of those who have been subjected to it.

Upon the whole, as respects the reformation of the offender, and his future security against the commission of crime, we do not think that we have sufficient data to judge between the two systems, except so far as may be inferred from their effect on the physical and mental constitution.

In regard to the influence of the two systems upon health, very little room, it seems to us, is left for doubt. This is the part of the subject that we have examined with the most careful attention. We have tested every one of Mr. Gray's statements, and, except in a single particular,* too slight to be noticed, have found them entirely correct. He institutes a rigid comparison between the two prisons at Charlestown and Philadelphia, and, after making every deduction that could be asked in favor of the latter (more, indeed, than ought to be made), he shows, that, during the ten years ending with 1846, "where 119 prisoners die in Charlestown prison, no less than 218 white prisoners die in that of Philadelphia" (p. 98); while, if we include the whole body of prisoners, white and black, in the two prisons, the disparity is as 119 to 423, the mortality being considerably more than three times as great in the latter as in the former. His reasoning on this point deserves to be very carefully studied. We do not see how it can be answered, except by arguing that conclusions so broad as the general mortality under the two systems

* Mr. Gray, p. 95, sets down the number of deaths among the blacks, for 1838, in the Eastern Penitentiary, as 20. The reports for that year, both of the warden and physician, make it 19. But in a table which was published in the physician's report for 1846, the number is 20. This is undoubtedly the cause of Mr. Gray's mistake, and is one of those small errors which, when explained, go to confirm our confidence in a writer's fidelity.

ought not to be drawn from premises so narrow as the experience of these two prisons.

This objection is met and partly removed by the fact, that these two prisons, except in the systems which they pursue, are very nearly alike, being both in the vicinity of large cities in which the average mortality is nearly the same, both managed with great skill and carefulness, and both in a measure under the supervision of Prison Discipline Societies, who are each watching the workings of a favorite system with jealous attention. These considerations give great significance to the results of the comparison, and the statistics furnished by these two prisons ought to have greater influence in deciding the question before us than all others.

We regret, however, that Mr. Gray did not show, in his book, the results of a more extended inquiry, carried out with the same searching analysis. There is room left now for suspecting that the reason why nothing is said of other prisons is, that their experience might not prove so favorable to his views. It was with more than half a suspicion of this kind, that we procured a bushel or more of pamphlets, the reports of almost all the prisons in New England and the Eastern States for the last ten or fifteen years, from which we have drawn up the following table. The numbers for Pittsburg and New Jersey, for Auburn, 1835, Sing Sing, 1843, and Connecticut, 1842, we have taken from the Second Report of the New York Prison Association, p. 93. Whenever our numbers have differed from the table in the New York Report, we have taken pains to verify them by recurring again to the original (printed) reports, and in this way have discovered mistakes in the New York Report, so numerous and so important, that we should not think of making its figures the basis of any exact calculations. We exceedingly regret this; for if the design of the Association could be carried out with an accuracy proportioned to the largeness and elevation of its purpose, or the apparent impartiality of its spirit, it might throw a great deal of light on the subject of Prison Discipline, and prepare the way for very important results. In the following table (we ought to add), the number of prisoners at Sing Sing, in 1845, has been taken partly from conjecture. The number, probably, is not correct, but the error cannot be large enough sensibly to affect the result. We would also add, that we have selected these prisons, all except those of Pittsburg and New

Jersey, solely because we are able to give more complete and authentic returns from them than from any others.

Years.	Five prisons on Congregate System.														Three pris. on Sep. Syst.							
	Auburn.		Sing Sing.		Mass.		N. Hamp.		Conn.						Philadel.		Pitsburg		N. Jersey.			
	Prisoners.	Deaths.	Prisoners.	Deaths.	Prisoners.	Deaths.	Prisoners.	Deaths.	Prisoners.	Deaths.					Prisoners.	Deaths.	Prisoners.	Deaths.	Prisoners.	Deaths.		
1835	654	10	761	11			78	0	197	4							112	4				
1836	655	18	753	20	288	5	86	1	204	8							101	4				
1837	679	19	811	33	303	7	72	1	204	1					387	17	94	0	141	1		
1838	660	15	823	34	316	5	75	0	198	4					402	21	97	2	172	*0		
1839	643	10	816	17	318	2	71	2	187	9					418	11	124	2	161	2		
1840	682	12	819	18	333	8	75	1	176	5					406	22	129	1	156	2		
1841	701	9	798	37	304	2	84	2	187	2					347	17	151	7	139	0		
1842	709	7	741	33	271	2	92	0	207	8					342	9	153	5	136	0		
1843	742	11	887	16	276	2	99	0	198	12					334	11	138	6	146	3		
1844	775	8	860	51	287	1									360	13	130	6				
1845	796	11			253	1									319	15	130	4				
1846															326	13	126	6				
Total	7636	130	9069	270	2949	35	732	7	1758	53					3641	154	1485	47	1051	8		
Annual per cent. of deaths	1.70		3.34		1.19		0.95		3.01						4.23		3.16		0.76			

Except the New Jersey prison, where the figures are not well authenticated, and where, as we shall soon see, the Separate System has not of late years been rigidly applied, this table, in whatever way we look at it, is strikingly in favor of the Congregate System. The average annual mortality of five prisons on the Congregate plan is 2.34 per cent., while that of three prisons on the Separate plan is 3.38 per cent., or considerably more than one third larger. In the worst prison on the Congregate System, that at Sing

Mr. Gray says, the deaths in the third year (1838) amounted to three per cent., which would make the deaths for 1838, 5 instead of 0. We have no reason to question his accuracy in this case, as we have not been able to find him mistaken in any other.

Sing, where the mortality among the female convicts may be presumed to be as disproportionately large as that of the blacks at Philadelphia, and where altogether it may be presumed that there are as many circumstances unfavorable to health as in the Eastern Penitentiary, there are only 334 deaths to 423 at Philadelphia. The average annual mortality in the Connecticut prison would seem to indicate that the deaths there, compared with the mortality among the whites in the Eastern Penitentiary, are as 301 to 218. But on looking into the reports of the Connecticut prison we find that from 1828 to 1844, seventeen years, one half of all the deaths were among the blacks, and that during that period, while the average annual mortality among the blacks was 5.40 per cent. (at Philadelphia, it is 7.77 per cent.), that among the whites was 1.07, — less than one half the mortality among the whites in the Eastern Penitentiary. In 1843–44, of 12 deaths, 8 were among the blacks, while they at the time constituted only about one quarter of the whole number of convicts.

We have usually little confidence in statistical tables, especially where they are incomplete, or drawn up with reference to a particular subject. But having prepared this table from the original materials, not without a suspicion that it might invalidate Mr. Gray's argument, and with a determination to state and abide by the result, whatever it might be, we cannot help attaching a good deal of importance to indications so uniform as those which are afforded by it. We do not know how to escape the inference which it forces upon us, that the per centage of deaths under the Separate System is disproportionately large. But decisive as the argument from this source is, we question very much whether the bills of mortality tell the whole truth on the subject. There are many employments which, without materially lessening the duration of life, seriously impair the health of those engaged in them, and unfit them for any occupation which requires great exertion. Much of the labor in our manufactories is of this kind, not, perhaps, shortening life, but very seriously impairing the strength and general health of the operatives. Something of this general weakening of the physical powers, reducing but not quite exhausting the fountain of vitality, we believe may be found in the Philadelphia, as compared with the Charlestown, prison, and to an extent altogether beyond what might be surmised from the

bills of mortality. We should infer this from the nature of the confinement, as viewed in the light of physiological facts which are perfectly well established, and which go to show the essential importance of society to the health of the great majority of men. This is a want, not more required for our social affections than needed for our physical well-being. And this truth, if not demonstrated, is at least indicated and made probable by the testimony of many who have visited prisons on the Separate System. Is it not clearly indicated by Beaumont and De Tocqueville, when in reference to a particular convict in the Eastern Penitentiary, they say, "that he could not speak long without being agitated and shedding tears; and that they had made the same remark of all whom they had previously seen"? This extreme sensibility could come only from great physical weakness. In an examination, before the Lords' Committee in England, of an officer who had had great experience in the treatment of convicts, he testified to the injurious effect of two years' separate confinement on the convict.

"In what way is he injured? In body or mind?"

"The men's physical and moral state seem to me both prostrated."

"You mean the energies both of his mind and body?"

"Yes."

"Is this your theoretical opinion?"

"It is my opinion from the look; there is a pasty, white, subdued look. I have been much in the habit of scanning men in that way, and forming an estimate of what they are, both morally and physically, from their external appearance."

We give these only as specimens of the sort of testimony which abounds on this subject, and which is so in harmony with what we should infer from well-established principles in physiology, that it ought to be carefully considered.

Have we a right to subject prisoners to a mode of treatment so destructive to life and health? If it were deliberately proposed to put one prisoner to death, annually, out of every one hundred in our prisons, the mortality thus occasioned would be much less than that which is now unnecessarily caused by the Separate System, where it is rigidly enforced.

The great objection, however, to the Separate System, especially as applied in Pennsylvania, is its tendency to pro-

duce insanity. On no point is Mr. Gray's pamphlet more entirely convincing than on this. We do not see how more decisive evidence on such a subject could be desired than is furnished by our own prisons, without going into foreign countries. Only two cases of insanity have originated in the prison at Charlestown within the last ten years, which is only at the rate of 68 in a hundred thousand; while during the same time, among the white prisoners in the Eastern Penitentiary, there have originated 31 cases, which is at the rate of 2620 in a hundred thousand, or more than 38 where there is one at Charlestown. One in 13 of all the white prisoners, and one in 10 of all white and black, become insane while in the Eastern Penitentiary.* This is truly appalling, and we can conceive of no way in which it can be accounted for otherwise than by the different effects of the two systems. Yet, terrible as the conclusion is, it does not, as Mr. Gray very forcibly remarks, bring before us "the full measure of this evil." None but cases of actual insanity are reported. But how many cases of weakened nerves and half-disordered minds must there be in those solitary cells, of which no notice is taken in the public reports!

"The experience of New Jersey, the only other State of the Union in which the system of solitary confinement now exists, is not less instructive. The system was introduced there in October, 1836," and at first the success seemed perfect. But in his Second Report the physician says: —

"The effect of solitary confinement upon the mind deserves some notice. In many instances there is remarked that weakness of intellect which results from an unexercised mind. . . . . If the prisoner's mind, on his admission into the cell, has not been of a reflective character, and capable of exercising itself on abstract subjects, imbecility is soon manifested."

In his Report for the third year, he says: —

"Among the prisoners there are many who exhibit a childlike

* The average term of imprisonment is a little more than three years, so that the average annual number of new convicts is a little less than one third of 229, the annual average number of prisoners. The average number of new white convicts for each year, one third of 229, is 76.33, which being divided by 6, the average number of whites who become insane each year, is 12.72, or 1 in 12.72. Average number of whites and blacks, $364 \div 3 = 121.33 \div 12.11$, the average number of convicts who become insane annually, gives 10.02 or 1 in 10.02.

simplicity, which shows them to be less acute than when they entered. *In all who have been more than a year in the prison, some of these effects have been observed.* Continue the confinement for a longer time, and give them no other exercise of the mental faculties than this kind of imprisonment affords, and the most accomplished rogue will lose his capacity for depredating with success upon the community!"

No stronger testimony as to the fact of a very great amount of insanity through all its preliminary stages could be given than the foregoing, and no more decisive testimony as to the cause could be asked, than is furnished by the physician of this same prison in his Sixth Report.

"Now," he says, "while we admit the enervating tendency of solitary confinement, we can report for the last year no death amongst an average of 141 prisoners. There have been but a few on the sick list at any time during the year, and no case of insanity has originated in the house during this time. These very favorable results are to be attributed to the constant employment furnished the convicts, and also to the treatment the prisoner receives on the first appearance of disease. If his mind begin to fail, and he shows symptoms of derangement, *another convict is put with him in his cell.* THIS INVARIABLY RESTORES THE PATIENT." — *Prison Discipline in America*, pp. 114–119.

We can hardly conceive of evidence on such a subject stronger than this, unless it is that furnished by the experience of Rhode Island, where the experiment of solitary labor was begun in November, 1838. For two or three years it was thought to work well and to promise beneficial results. But in their Fourth Report, the Inspectors begin to hesitate. "They fear the effect is *to injure strong minds, and to produce imbecility or insanity in those that are weak.*" They recommend the erection of workshops, "in which the convicts may be compelled to labor, under constant supervision." In 1843, the system of solitary labor was abolished, and that of social labor adopted in its place. Dr. Cleveland, who was the warden of the prison during the whole of this period, and in favor of the solitary system when it was adopted, in 1838, in his Report dated October, 1844, has given an exceedingly interesting account of the matter, and shows conclusively, on physiological grounds, that the vast proportion of insane cases — not less than one in six of all the prisoners admitted during the four years — must have been owing to the system itself, especially as the

very next year after the system was abandoned, the proportion of insane convicts was reduced considerably more than one half; so that where there had before been twenty-five cases, there were then but ten. We would particularly commend this Report, which is contained in the Appendix to Mr. Gray's pamphlet, to any of our readers who may wish to know something of the manner in which solitary confinement brings on insanity.*

The facts, so far as relates to the only prisons on the Separate System from which we have full and authentic returns, are simply these. In the Eastern Penitentiary, the proportion of insane cases, originating in the prison, has been 38 times as great as in the prison at Charlestown. One in thirteen of the whites, and one in ten of all the prisoners, who enter the walls of the Eastern Penitentiary, become insane. At the New Jersey prison, soon after the introduction of the Separate System, unusual symptoms of insanity were noticed, and during the third year, *some of these effects were observed in all who had been more than a year in the prison.* Afterwards, whenever these symptoms appeared in any convict, the solitary system, so far as he was concerned, was abandoned. Another convict was "put with him in his cell," and under this treatment, during the sixth year, out of 141 prisoners, there was not one new case of insanity. At Rhode Island, under the Separate System, one sixth of all the convicts admitted during the four years became insane; and the very year after the experiment was given up, the number of insane was reduced considerably more than one half. Now, in the face of these facts, how can men persist in applying the Separate System, in its unmitigated severity, with any show of reason or humanity? What advantages, real or imaginary, can be brought forward as an excuse for a system which smites from one sixth to one tenth of all its victims with insanity?

Such is the view of this matter in the light of particular

* The only case that we have seen at all parallel to this, on the opposite side, is what we find in the "Revue Pénitentiaire," Tome IV. p. 54. Two prisons in Geneva, one on the Congregate, the other on the Separate plan, are almost side by side, and while there are always cases of insanity in the former, there has not been a single case in the latter during the thirty-four months since it was first used. But no argument can be drawn from this, inasmuch as the prison on the Separate plan is used only as a house of detention and for those who are confined for a short term, all those imprisoned for a long period being confined in the other.

facts, as shown in the actual application of the system. But there are considerations borrowed from other sources, which may confirm us in the same conclusions. We are apt to forget how much we depend on a diversity of persons and objects around us for the elasticity and healthful action of our minds, and how few preserve their cheerfulness and mental vigor long after they have withdrawn from intercourse with interesting external objects and events. Whatever the mind in itself may be, or whatever, in a purely spiritual form, it may be capable of becoming hereafter, it is now fearfully and wonderfully connected with its physical organs. Through them almost entirely, or rather by means of influences brought to act upon it from abroad through them, are its faculties here to be developed and preserved in health. Whatever may be true in respect to persons of a very high degree of cultivation and uncommon powers of reflection, it is expecting too much of the great majority of men to require that they should, in the utter solitude of a cell, keep their minds alive through books alone, and such infrequent snatches of intercourse with human beings as may be compatible with the Pennsylvania system. Least of all should we expect this of such men as go to fill our prisons. Great men, even great rogues, are rare. There can be no greater mistake than to suppose that our State-prison convicts are mostly shrewd, cunning men, with keen intellects, but very wicked. They are not to be held up as examples of virtue; but, as a class, we believe them not very much more wicked than the average of those whom we meet in the streets, and they are men, usually, of very ordinary intellectual gifts and attainments. Many of them are such persons as in a fit of intoxication steal a coat, or commit some other petty larceny, or pass a small counterfeit bill under the direction of a more accomplished rogue, or, being too lazy to work, or really distressed for want of employment, or very shiftless, thoughtlessly as much as wickedly, appropriate to their own use the property of others. The great mass of convicts in our prisons belong to these and similar classes. Society must protect itself against them. But at the same time it should allow them all the advantages for their intellectual and moral improvement that can be extended to them consistently with its own security. Certainly it should not systematically destroy the small portion of mind which has been given them.

But how are their sluggish powers to be exercised and called out? By shutting them up in solitary cells, with, at the utmost, not more than fifteen minutes a day of human society? What is there in this to stimulate or rouse them? Books? But what are books to them? Their own thoughts? But what can be more unexciting or unprofitable, after a few weeks or months have taken away the novelty of their situation? At first, there is a sort of nervous excitement, increasing in many cases till it partakes very much of the nature of delirium tremens, and then, as Dr. Cleveland has said, the prisoner is left "very much reduced in the scale of being; without energy or capacity for action, and unfit to be restored to society; his animal propensities invariably gaining the ascendency over his moral and intellectual faculties."

And yet the theory on which this system rests is in some respects very captivating. To take these weak and erring creatures from a world full of temptation, and shut them up out of the reach of their old associates, in ample rooms, clean, well ventilated and warmed, where they may labor or meditate at will, and where their solitude shall be broken in upon only by the virtuous, who would come to win them back to God, — what can be better? We have been greatly attracted by this view of the subject; but a more careful investigation has convinced us that in practice it cannot be applied without a mournful violation of the laws of our moral and intellectual development; — certainly not unless by essentially modifying the original system of separate confinement. "The Lord God said, It is not good that the man should be alone." As a permanent thing, it is not and never will be good, even for the virtuous and intelligent, whose thoughts are most likely to be what they should be, to remain alone. Seasons of retirement and meditation are needed by us all. We cannot preserve our spiritual life and vigor without them. But months and years of solitude, except in extreme cases, or when inflicted as a punishment for great virtues, so as to awaken the martyr spirit, would be pernicious to the best of us. What, then, must it be to those whose highest thoughts rise hardly above the level of their animal instincts, unless in connection with the violation of some law either of God or man?

Great stress is laid on virtuous society as part of the system. We are sorry that we cannot quote the whole of

Mr. Gray's unanswerable argument on this point. The utmost amount of society that has ever been given, on an average, to the prisoners in the Eastern Penitentiary is considerably less than fifteen minutes a day! With its chaplain and schoolmaster, its warden, physician, and apothecary, its board of inspectors, and committee from the Philadelphia Prison Society, adding also the visits of benevolent individuals, the whole amount of virtuous society allotted to each prisoner, upon an average, is considerably less than fifteen minutes a day. The remaining twenty-three hours and three quarters of every day, throughout the long and wearisome years, are left to him in utter solitude. He may work, or sleep, or meditate, or read, or dream; but there he is alone, with nothing to break up the dreary monotony of life. And who can wonder, if he does, as the highest evidence shows that he does, after a few months, become restless, irritable, "impatient of the unnatural restraint imposed" upon him, "difficult to be dealt with," and finally insane?

Even supposing, what is not possible with our busy population, that two hours a day of virtuous society could be supplied to each prisoner, we very much question whether it would answer at all the purposes or meet the wants of his social nature. For a limited time, as we shall state more distinctly in another part of this article, at the beginning of his confinement, this might be well. But we question very much whether the society of those only who come as officers, teachers, and monitors can answer the wants of the social nature, or supply through it the healthful stimulus which is required. There is deference on one side, condescension on the other, and constraint on both; — nothing of the easy unbending of mind and heart, which is essential to the enjoyment and the healthful improvement of social intercourse. It is a relation admirable and indispensable in its place, but enough to dwarf the social nature and destroy effectually the advantages to be gained from its exercise. "The habit," says Charles Lamb in one of his most delightful essays, "of too constant intercourse with spirits above you, instead of raising you, keeps you down. Too frequent doses of original thinking from others restrain what lesser portion of that faculty you may possess of your own." This is eminently true in morals. It is good for us to look up at times, and receive instruction from those far above us, — to commune, as the three chosen disciples did, with spirits from a purer

world; but it is not good for us to build our tabernacle there and be always with them. We may learn from them, but we must go back to our natural associates, to those not greatly above ourselves, to practise on the lessons we have learned. We believe this a very important consideration. But as it may not strike others so, we here dismiss it, with the simple remark, that, as a sufficient amount of virtuous society from without the prison-walls cannot be procured to save prisoners from an appalling per centage of deaths and insanity, we have no right to withhold the only substitute we can afford, in a restricted intercourse with one another. They who have witnessed the immense influence of reformed inebriates over each other will not utterly despair of some good influence even from convicts upon each other within our prisons, and they who have witnessed the beneficent influence of associations among such men will not dismiss as altogether chimerical the plan of an association among prisoners for moral improvement and mutual aid, when carried on under the eye of the warden and chaplain.

No account of Prison Discipline at the present day can be quite complete, which entirely overlooks what is doing abroad; and Mr. Gray, though the title of his work is "Prison Discipline in *America*," has very properly employed fifty of its two hundred pages in a rapid survey of the important measures recently adopted in Europe. We have had no opportunity to verify his statements in regard to what has been done upon the Continent, but, after looking carefully into the most recent examinations and reports in England, must say that we have been able to detect no mistake in the details which he has given of the course pursued in the English prisons, and that we entirely agree with him in the opinion that the Separate System has not yet been tried long enough there to furnish decisive arguments on either side. There can, however, be no question as to the immense superiority of the whole course of prison discipline now adopted in England over that which prevailed there twenty or thirty years ago. In ten prisons, with a daily average of nearly four thousand prisoners, the average annual mortality for the two years from 1844 to 1846 was less than one half the average annual mortality in the same prisons from 1838 to 1842. Great improvements have been made in the construction of prisons, particularly with regard to warming and ventilation, and in the diet and general sana-

tory condition of the prisoners. And as the principle of separation has, to a greater or less extent, been connected with all these improvements, it would not be strange if it should be regarded with the favor which is really due to measures only incidentally connected with it.

We must refer to the interesting, and, we think, impartial account which Mr. Gray has given of the Pentonville prison, the model prison on the Separate System. The argument drawn from it, to our mind, has very little weight on either side. Yet, on account of the great improvements connected with it, we are not surprised to find a passage like the following, from pages 32 and 33 of the Second Report of the Surveyor-General of the Prisons of England, dated June, 1847.

"Since Pentonville prison has been fairly in operation, there has been a great change in public opinion. The system of separation has been introduced into several county and borough prisons. Its advantages have been more generally appreciated, and experience has, in a great measure, removed the fears which were very naturally entertained of its effects.

"It is, therefore, most satisfactory to me to state, that no prison has been erected or improved in this country, on plans subjected to my revision, under the authority of the Secretary of State, which does not enable magistrates, either now or at some future period, to adopt the Pentonville system, so far as it will apply, and, under any circumstances, to establish the separation of one prisoner from another as the basis and great leading feature of the discipline. . . . . .

"When the whole are complete, there will be in England alone sixty different prisons adapted for separate confinement, containing accommodation for upwards of twelve thousand prisoners, exclusive of one thousand or twelve hundred cells available for the discipline in Scotland and Ireland.

"When we look to these costly efforts in furtherance of a specific and uniform system of discipline and construction, respecting which the unanswerable arguments derivable from long experience cannot, as yet, be brought to bear, it is encouraging to reflect that the energies of some of the most enlightened men on the Continent are directed to the same objects, and that their views are identical with our own. In France, Prussia, and Belgium, especially, separate confinement may be said to be fairly established, and there is scarcely a kingdom or state in Europe in which measures for the improvement of prisons on the same plan are not in progress or in contemplation.

"All that appears to be required, in the present state of the

question, is to avoid the *injudicious application* of so valuable a system in the case of particular individuals, who, from constitutional causes, cannot bear the confinement, and to guard against the prolongation of the imprisonment in separation, to the detriment of health, after the period which may be necessary for securing its *moral effects;* also carefully to adhere to the precautions which experience has proved to be essential in the administration of the discipline."

This certainly looks as if the Separate System must generally prevail; but on examining the subject, particularly in reading Minutes of Evidence before the Lords' Committee, in the spring of 1847, we see how essentially the principle of separation is modified in its practical application. Almost all the witnesses, even those most in favor of the Separate System, would not have it employed in any one case more than eighteen months. All admit that there are many persons, some say as many as one in ten, to whom it cannot safely be applied. The prisoners at Pentonville are brought together in the chapel for religious worship once every day, once every Sunday, and every alternate Sunday twice, where, though they sit so as not to see each other, they are within the sound of each other's breath, and in sight of the chaplain. A class consisting of one sixth of the whole number, at four different times in the week, spend two hours in the chapel with the schoolmaster, where they not only hear him, but each other, and must, almost of necessity, so put their questions as to have some intercourse with one another. The fact, that one was punished for "wilfully creating laughter, and causing interruption and confusion in the school by improper questions and remarks," proves that they do not feel themselves alone while at school. Then they "take turns in cleaning the corridors every morning, which occupies an hour, during which time several are in company with each other, but under the supervision of an officer, to prevent all intercourse. They likewise walk every day to their exercising-yards in company," though at a distance of fifteen feet from each other; and every prisoner has in his cell the means of ringing a bell and calling an officer to him whenever he may choose. In all this there is so near an approach to society, so much a feeling of companionship, as to soften the terrible rigors of the Pennsylvania system, and to obviate some of its most unhappy effects. When we add to this the vigilant medical assistance which in the present

excited state of public opinion is given, but which cannot permanently be so attentive to the wants of each prisoner, and the care that is taken to furnish society, often from among the convicts, to those whose mental or bodily health is endangered by solitude, we see that the Separate System, in being thus successfully applied, as we think it has been, for a very short period, in some of the English prisons, has, at the same time, almost entirely lost its distinctive features.

It seems to be a general opinion among the most intelligent advocates of the system in England, that great discretion must be used, — greater, we fear, than would be consistent with our mode of administering penal justice, — both in the selection of convicts to be subjected to it, and the palliations which are afterwards to be allowed. At Pentonville, only those between eighteen and thirty-five years of age are received, and none who are not in good health, and free from any constitutional or hereditary tendency to insanity, consumption, and scrofulous affections. Colonel Jebb, the Surveyor-General of Prisons in England, says, in his examination before the Lords' committee,* — "The depressing influences of a prison on the Separate System have greater effect upon people who are predisposed to consumption or insanity, and I believe would tend, in the case of consumption especially, to develop the disease." In reply to the question, what proportion that class would bear to the whole number of convicts, he replied, — "I should think about ten per cent. would be excluded, as being unfit." Mr. Hill, Inspector of Prisons in Scotland, says,† — "I believe that the Separate System, *if not made an iron rule*, and resorted to in all cases, without reference to the *age and mental condition* of the offender, can be applied with perfect safety, and (*for moderate periods of time*) with great moral benefit, that is, provided the prisoners be placed under humane officers," etc. Now where shall this power of discriminating between those who shall and those who shall not be subjected to the system be lodged, in our administration of the criminal law? Can it be lodged anywhere, without embarrassing the process of justice, or being liable to abuse?

In respect to the duration of imprisonment under the solitary system, the testimony is decisive and almost unanimous,

* *Second Report of the Surveyor-General*, 1847, p. 172.
† *Ibid.*, p. 178.

that it ought not to exceed eighteen months. The Rev. Whitworth Russell, the great advocate of this system in England, is the only one who would have it extended to three years. Colonel Jebb, in the valuable Report to which we have already several times alluded, says (p. 38),— "My own independent conclusion, founded on a close observation of the experiment made at Pentonville, during nearly four years and a half, is, that separate confinement, for periods extending from three to twelve months, may, with due precautions, be advantageously adopted in the prisons generally, and that in particular cases, and with care and watchfulness, it might, if necessary, be extended to fifteen or eighteen months. Beyond that period, even if it were desirable on moral grounds, I do not believe the discipline could be *generally* enforced, even under the most favorable circumstances, without risk of injurious consequences to a large proportion of the prisoners." "There seems no sufficient reason," says the chaplain of the Pentonville prison, "for wishing for any extension of the period of separation beyond eighteen months, *but the reverse*." Other strong advocates of the system concur in these views. One thinks the cases must be very rare indeed in which it should be continued so long as eighteen months, both from the danger to the mind and the uncertainty in effecting a moral cure. Another says, "I have a strong impression that eighteen months is too long." He says, also, that, when continued too long, "there does seem, *in the majority of cases*, to be an unfavorable effect produced, both upon the physical man and upon the mental man. I do not think," he adds, "that it amounts to producing insanity, but it appears to have a tendency to weaken the mind and the will; to weaken the will in particular," — "the energies." On this point we think there can be no doubt; and it is a consideration which ought to have great weight in settling the question here. Our own belief is, that, if it were practicable to adopt the Separate System with convicts for a few weeks, or months even, at the commencement of their confinement, and then introduce them to such a system as we now have at Charlestown, we should have the most perfect prison discipline that could be devised. And where new prisons are to be built, we see no good reason why they might not be so constructed as to allow something of this kind. But where the question is merely, which shall be the exclusive system, to be applied indiscriminately to all pris-

oners, for one, two, four, ten, or twenty years, we cannot hesitate for a moment to express our decided preference for the Congregate System, as administered at Charlestown, over the Separate System, as administered anywhere.*

We shall look with great interest to further developments of the experiments in England, and have little doubt that the next five years, in connection with the last five, will throw more light on prison discipline, and lead to more valuable improvements, than the forty previous years. On the Continent, too, important results may be expected.

At present, we cannot but consider three points as perfectly established : —

First, that the Separate System, in its unmitigated severity, as it has been applied in Pennsylvania, cannot be continued without a fearful waste of life and reason.

Secondly, that, even with the modifications adopted in England, it cannot be applied in any one case more than eighteen months, at the farthest, without greatly endangering the health and reason of the convict, while at the same time it is likely to be attended by unhappy moral results.

Thirdly, that it is a system wholly unfitted for juvenile offenders.

The cases in which we suppose it may, with various modifications, be applied, and in reference to which we shall look with particular interest to experiments now making in England, are, —

First, in the treatment of accused persons, while awaiting their trial.

Secondly, in the treatment of prisoners confined for very short periods, as, for example, most of those convicted in our police courts.

The monstrous evils heretofore existing in both these cases are greatly mitigated by the excellent prisons in some of our counties, as in Berkshire and Hampden. Still there are great opportunities left, for young persons especially, who are comparatively innocent, to be corrupted by others of atrocious character. The limited accommodations required for the small number of prisoners in most of our county jails must, however, while obviating the evils of which we complain, throw difficulties in the way of the possible improvement that we have mentioned.

* We would refer those who wish to see the other side of this subject to an article in the Christian Examiner for January, 1846.

Thirdly, we would suggest that a certain limited proportion of every extended sentence, in no case to exceed six or twelve months, might perhaps be usefully spent in solitary confinement by most convicts at the beginning of their imprisonment, giving time to break up their old habits and bring them into a suitable state of mind to enjoy the further privileges of society, and yet not long enough to be accompanied by the dangers of protracted solitary imprisonment. If it were practicable to adopt something of this kind as a part of our prison discipline at Charlestown, we think it might be followed by very satisfactory results. We have already more than once referred to it in the present article, and cannot but think that it would furnish a fitting introduction to such a course of labor, society, and instruction as is described in the following account, taken, with some omissions, from Mr. Gray's admirable pamphlet.

"The prison at Charlestown resembles a great manual-labor school. The prisoners are not required to keep their eyes fixed upon their work and never to look up, as at Auburn, but simply to attend to their task as in a school. As in a school, also, silence is required; and if this rule be violated, it is the duty of the master of the shop to report this, like every other violation of rule, to the warden. The shops are spacious, light, and airy, not surpassed, and hardly equalled, excepting in such great establishments as those of the city of Lowell. The prisoners are engaged in active occupations, with the exception of a few, who, from infirmity or other special cause, are employed in sedentary pursuits. These have time allowed them for exercise in the morning, and again in the afternoon, each one of course alone. Very few indeed of those sent to the prison are acquainted with any trade or business whatever, and on their admission the warden consults them as to their occupation, desiring that they should choose an active one; but not commanding even this.

"They eat their meals in their cells, receiving them in tin pans from the kitchen window at the door of the prison. Each prisoner takes a bath once a week, excepting in winter, when the bathing is regulated by the physician. The mode of punishment is this. Whenever the master of a shop sees an offence committed, he bids the offender stay out for punishment; and the latter accordingly, when the other prisoners retire to their cells, after prayers in the evening, remains at the foot of the staircase, where the warden hears the complaint and the defence or explanation, and awards the punishment. If it is a first offence or a slight one, the culprit is commonly dismissed after an admoni-

tion, and a promise on his part to behave better in future. If punishment is deemed requisite, it is that of solitary confinement, with diminished diet, unless in grave cases, when a flogging is inflicted in the presence of the warden. In the course of the last four years, this last punishment has been received by forty-five different convicts, by some of them several times. The greatest number of lashes inflicted on any one during that whole period is fifty; and there are only eight persons who, in the course of that time, have received more than ten lashes, some are recorded as having received three, some two, and the whole number inflicted during the four years is two hundred and forty-two.

"There are several flower-pots in the windows of some of the workshops, a convict being allowed to keep one or more of these, with permission of the warden. By the same permission, also, they cultivate what they call gardens, of which there are now more than a hundred. These are boxes made of refuse boards a few feet square, filled with earth, in which they raise tomatoes, lettuce, cucumbers, onions, and other vegetables, for their own use. To attend to these, they are allowed by the master of the shop to quit their work for a few minutes at a time.

"In church on Sunday, and at evening prayers during the week, they have sacred music, vocal and instrumental, in the chapel; the instruments belonging to the prisoners, being obtained from their friends, to whom the warden writes at their request; or purchased from funds which they may have had on entering the prison, and which are always deposited in the warden's hands, who buys for them any instrument or book they wish, if he thinks it proper for them to have it. Those who choose to do so pass one hour every Saturday afternoon in the chapel, in the practice of music.

"A society is established in the prison for moral improvement and mutual aid, of which the warden is president, with express authority to regulate and control all its proceedings. Any prisoner may become a member, unless the president object, by signing the constitution, which contains a formal promise to lead an orderly and virtuous life, and never to taste any intoxicating liquor after his discharge. This society holds its meetings once a fortnight; and at each meeting some question is stated for discussion at the next. A committee of conference is appointed to consider the best means of promoting the great objects of the society, consisting of the president, the vice-president, who is the chaplain of the prison, the secretary, who is its clerk, and six convicts, chosen by a majority of the members, and approved by the president. About three fourths of the prisoners now belong to this society.

"The prisoners have about five hours a day for reading and

writing in their cells, an hour being allowed for breakfast, and an hour for dinner, which solitary meals are briefly despatched, and the prison kept lighted in winter till [illegible] evening. Each prisoner is furnished with a slate and pencil, and is taught and encouraged [illegible] and cipher. There is a Sunday school, at which about [illegible] gentlemen in the neighbourhood attend and hear those who choose to do so read from the Bible, in small classes, teaching those to read who cannot do it.

"There is a library in the prison, to the support and increase of which one hundred dollars a year is appropriated from the earnings of the prison, by law, and books are taken out and returned by the convicts once a week. Many prisoners also have books of their own in their cells, purchased from their money in the warden's hands. One of them is now reading Latin and another studying Greek."—pp. 47 - 53.

Under these circumstances, beginning with solitary confinement and ending with the largest liberty that is consistent with perfect security, we would have the prisoner educated, and gradually prepared for the world into which he is again to enter.* Under the present system, a great proportion, we believe, come out reformed men. We once had the charge of a class in the Sunday school at Charlestown, and at least half of those with whom we thus became intimately acquainted we should have been perfectly willing to trust about our house. Mr. Gray speaks of a respectable cabinet-maker, who informs him "that within ten or twelve years past, from forty to fifty discharged convicts, whom he knew to have learned their trade in the State prison, have been employed in his establishment, and that he never has discharged one of them for bad conduct."

An agent, by the law of March 22, 1845, is appointed by the State to assist discharged convicts, and a voluntary association, called the "Boston Society in Aid of Discharged Convicts," has since been formed, "which entirely coöperates with the present agent of the State, and, indeed, has appointed him agent of the Society also." We hope the public favor will be extended to this Society; as one of the greatest dangers to which discharged convicts can be exposed arises from the difficulty of knowing what to do with themselves on leaving the prison. J. H. M.

* We would barely ask, whether, if a small per centage of each prisoner's earnings were to be set aside for his own use, after a certain period, perhaps, of good behaviour, it would not add greatly to the cheerfulness of his labors, and even so far increase the amount of his earnings that the State would be no loser by the change.

Art. IX. — SERMONS ON CHRISTIAN COMMUNION.*

The reading of sermons seems to hold much the same relation to the hearing of them at church, that the solitary meal bears to the social. The spiritual, like the material food, partaken of in solitude, becomes comparatively insipid; its zest and relish are gone; the keen enjoyment, the quickened sensibility, the refreshment and animation, that come from sympathy and social participation, are lost. The analogy holds with special strength in regard to sermons, because they are designed for social edification. To enjoy them fully, to comprehend their meaning and force, and have that meaning and force enter into our souls, they must be listened to with others; they must be *preached to us*, not read by us. The printed sermon, which we read in the closet, seldom, almost never, has the power, makes the strong impression, that the same sermon does or would, if heard with an assembled audience and all the surrounding influences and associations of public worship. To this source is to be traced the fact, that sermons are rarely the most attractive and interesting kind of religious reading, even to the devout and spiritually-minded; and that in the markets they are dreaded by booksellers as "a drug." However good a sermon may be, or however much it may have impressed us when delivered, we can seldom read it with the same interest, or derive from it the same improvement or satisfaction, that we received in listening to it.

These remarks have been suggested by the "Sermons on Christian Communion." To pronounce this volume a failure would be an unjust and sweeping criticism. On the other hand, to say that it is eminently successful, that its contents correspond exactly with its title, that it fulfils all the expectations which its announcement excited, would be a declaration to which, probably, the feelings of no careful reader would permit him to subscribe. We fear that many who have read the book through in course, or the greater part of it, have laid it down with something like disappointment; not because it is not a good book, full of wisdom and truth, often earnestly and eloquently uttered, but because it does not an-

* *Sermons on Christian Communion, designed to promote the Growth of the Religious Affections.* By Living Ministers. Edited by T. R. Sullivan. Boston: Crosby & Nichols. 1848. 12mo. pp. 391.

swer their expectations, does not make the impression, does not produce the state of mind and heart, which they supposed it was intended and would have the power to produce.

When Mr. Sullivan first informed us of his plan, we thought most favorably of it, and gladly complied with his request to aid in its execution. That execution, as presented in the volume before us, shows either that we misconceived his plan, or that he subsequently modified and enlarged it. The title of the volume, in our judgment, will be likely to beget a similar misconception in the minds of others, — a misconception which his Preface will but slightly remove, and which will interfere with the effect of the sermons. "Christian Communion" suggests ideas as to the character of the discourses, which one does not find till more than half way through the book. We supposed that it was the purpose of the editor to make a collection of sermons relating almost exclusively, at least very directly, to the Christian rite of Communion, — to the Lord's Supper, and the topics closely kindred to that rite, suggested by it, growing out of it, — so arranged, as that these topics should be treated of in their proper order and logical connection with each other, and thus the volume have the excellence of a systematic completeness, with the life and power of various minds possessing various gifts and talents. We supposed that it would begin with some sermon or sermons setting forth the general value and importance of religious forms and rites, their necessity even in the most spiritual religion, that is to be administered to men and impressed upon the human heart and conscience; that the simple and beautiful commemorative rite, which is so seldom observed with that loving spirit which our Saviour meant should characterize it, would then be brought into view, its obligation enforced, its nature, design, efficacy, and influence unfolded, its connection with the life and character, the death and resurrection, of Christ illustrated, in several sermons in which these topics would be variously handled, and presented in forms adapted alike to instruct the understanding, invigorate the conscience, and move the heart. This, we supposed, would be the most interesting and valuable portion of the volume. Here we expected to find the relation of Christ's sufferings to human salvation, the attractive and reconciling power of his cross, the depth and persuasive disinterestedness of his love as exhibited in his life, as well as in his death, the connection between his life and

his death and between his death and his resurrection, and the influence of all these in producing that spiritual renovation of the soul which it is the purpose of his Gospel to effect, — these great themes, so closely connected with the commemorative rite, we expected to find treated of in various ways, with varied power, but with a clearness, force, and earnestness that it would be difficult to resist. We supposed that then would follow discourses rebuking the neglect and exciting to the observance of the appointed ordinance of commemoration, setting forth the weakness of the excuses for the one, and urging the commanding motives that prompt to the other. Lastly, we supposed the volume would close with sermons on the duties involved in the observance of the Communion as a means of spiritual life and progress, and illustrating the operation of the spirit of Christian love, sympathy, and fellowship, — the various ways in which they who are members of one body in Christ might "bear one another's burdens, and so fulfil the law of Christ." Thus we supposed a work would be produced that would have a general unity, though its parts were the contributions of many minds, — a work specially designed and adapted to direct attention to "the Communion," to strengthen our churches by adding to the number and invigorating the spiritual life of their members.

We are aware that it would have been attended with difficulty and labor to have prepared such a volume by contributions from different minds. It might have been done, however, by a more specific understanding with each contributor as to the character of the sermon he was desired to furnish, and the precise point it was expected to unfold and enforce. In this way, some approximation to a volume such as we have described might have been made; at least a nearer approach to it than in the "Sermons on Christian Communion," which might with equal propriety, it seems to us, have been entitled "Sermons on Christianity," or "Miscellaneous Sermons." A large part of its contents have no particular connection, direct or indirect, with Christian communion, whether the word *communion* be understood as denoting the specific act of commemoration, the eating of bread and tasting of wine in remembrance of Christ, which in Apostolic phraseology is sometimes called "communion" (*κοινωνία*), or as signifying the more general "communion of Saints," the love, sympathy, fellowship, the union of

heart and spirit, which should mark all Christian believers as one body in Christ. They are sermons on Christian truth and duty in general, on the Gospel in its varied applications to the burdens, cares, responsibilities, joys, and sorrows of life, — all of them good, many of them very beautiful, eloquent, impressive, none of them to be read without pleasure and profit; but they are not sermons on Christian communion especially; and when we close the book and look within, we find a void which the perusal has not filled, a want which it has not satisfied. We do not feel that we have been communing intimately with Jesus, sitting at his feet and learning of him who was "meek and lowly in heart." Our hearts do not "burn within us" as they should at the remembrance of Christ. They are not stirred with those deep and unutterable emotions which should crowd upon the soul, awakening love, reverence, gratitude, humility, penitence, faith, hope, peace, at the recollection of God's mercy and Christ's love, as exhibited in the Gospel.

We have spoken of the volume as a whole, and of the impression it makes when read as a whole, keeping in view its title and purpose, "Sermons on Christian Communion, designed to promote the Growth of the Religious Affections." In this aspect of it, we are somewhat disappointed at its character and contents.

Turning from the compilation as a whole, or as possessing any supposed pervading unity of purpose, and regarding it merely as a miscellaneous collection of sermons, a specimen of the present Unitarian pulpit, it is full of interest, and suggests many thoughts, of which our limits will permit only a brief statement.

We suppose the volume may be regarded as a fair specimen of the average preaching in our denomination. It does not contain one of the best nor one of the poorest sermons of its several contributors; — not one of the best, because the writer would be unwilling to spare it; nor one of the poorest, because he would be unwilling to publish it; — but one of his usual, average sermons, one that he was willing to spare and not unwilling to publish. And in some respects, certainly, we are not indisposed to have the power of the Unitarian pulpit, and the character of its services, judged of by this specimen. It presents gratifying evidence of the large measure of individuality and independence that prevail among our clergy. An independent spirit, a clear courage,

an earnest and untrammelled utterance of individual convictions, is an essential element of usefulness in the pulpit. By an independent and courageous spirit we do not mean an inconsiderate and undiscriminating spirit, which utterly disregards times and seasons, circumstances and conditions. The truth of God is, indeed, always one, yet the character and circumstances of those to whom it is addressed are immensely varied; and although the same truths belong to all, there must be a diversity in their treatment and presentation. What is daily bread, full of nourishment and comfort to the advanced Christian, would be neither intelligible nor digestible by the young and the weak. So various are men's tastes and circumstances, so differently does the same truth affect different minds, and even the same minds at different times, that it is a difficult matter rightly to "divide the word," and so illustrate and apply it as to give to every one his "meat in due season."

It is because there is this difficulty, this diversity of circumstances, and the consequent necessity of a diversity of means and modes of action, that every minister should be independent, guided by his own judgment, acting out and speaking out in his own sphere and place his own convictions of truth and duty. He must show that he has life in himself, and is not a machine in the hands of others. In his selection of topics, in his style of preaching and illustration, in the modes of operation and influence by which he strives to make his ministry effectual, he must not fashion himself after the model of others; he must not inconsiderately oppose, nor unwisely and unhesitatingly follow, any popular current; he must not suffer himself to be seduced by the flatteries, nor awed by the threats, of any man or body of men. He may not, and he need not, act upon the assumption of his own infallibility. He may and should keep his mind open to all suggestions, influences, considerations, that come from without, that come from others. But he may and should act upon the assumption, that his own judgment of his own duty is likely to be his best guide, and that what he thinks and feels and his conscience bids him utter as God's truth and man's duty, that he must speak, fearlessly and frankly, though the whole world be up in arms against him. He is unworthy to be called a man, and unfit to be a minister, if he do not thus speak and act. His object is not to gather a mob, to sway a company of unreflecting persons who blindly

follow any impulse, but to form independent, thinking, self-regulating men, to enthrone reason and conscience in every individual breast; and his first step toward this is to enthrone them, and to show that they are enthroned, in his own breast, and that they make him, not a visionary enthusiast, nor yet a timid timeserver, but a fearless and independent man.

The "Sermons on Christian Communion" furnish evidence of a good degree of this independence and individuality in our pulpits. We do not mean that vexed questions in theology, or in practical morality and the application of the Gospel to social institutions and customs, are discussed here, but that each sermon gives more or less the idea of a free, generous, unshackled spirit in its author. The volume makes one feel that its writers are living men, standing upon the broadest platform of Christian truth, but each pursuing his own path, uttering his own thoughts in his own way, little embarrassed by the restraints and technicalities that have been supposed to enfeeble the utterance of the pulpit; that they are not imitators of each other or of any common model; that they suffer no human authority to come between the Bible and their own hearts, between God and their consciences.

But while the discourses under our notice bear witness to the independence and individuality of the Unitarian pulpit, they may be thought to indicate some want, in our preaching, of a devout spirit, clear perceptions of the spiritual in man, and earnest appeals to this part of his nature. If we may make such a distinction, an *intellectual* religious spirit, rather than a *devotional and affectionate* religious spirit, pervades the volume. The collection, as a whole, is an exhibition of the religion of the understanding, rather than of the heart. The sermons are adapted to convince and persuade, to satisfy and assure the mind of the certainty of truth, rather than to rouse the affections, and determine the will to obey it. They unfold and illustrate duty with more power than they enforce it.

In this respect the volume is not, we are inclined to think, a fair specimen of Unitarian preaching. In the usual preaching of our denomination there is, probably, more of unction and fervor, more of simple, earnest, affectionate appeal to the heart, than appears in this collection. These are not entirely wanting here, but the very manner in which the compilation was made would tend to give it an intellectual rather than a devotional character. Each contributor was called

upon to select his own sermon, with only a very general reference to the proposed title of the volume. Various considerations would direct his choice to a sermon marked by its thought rather than its feeling, — to one that gave evidence of his intellectual gifts and accomplishments, rather than of his earnest and devout spirit. The volume, therefore, while it is a fair exhibition, and an honorable one, of the intellect, the average talent, of the Unitarian pulpit, is not, we apprehend, a faithful test of it in all other respects. If it be, then there is some want among us of that preaching which can alone persuade the heart to repentance and reformation, those simple, direct, earnest, affectionate exhibitions of God's mercy and the Saviour's love and man's duty which move the soul to its lowest depths, inspire it with a holy resolution to say, "I will arise and go to my Father," and bring it to the footstool of God's throne with the cry of supplication, "God be merciful to me, a sinner!"

There probably is some want of this kind among us, and among other denominations also, in much of the preaching of the day. This is emphatically an intellectual age, and there is nothing to which the present generation more requires to have its eyes opened than to the folly of placing the intellect above the heart, and admiring knowledge, genius, talent, for its own sake, on its own account, independently of those religious affections whose sanctifying power can alone make it a benefit and a blessing to its possessor or to the world. In all denominations, has not the pulpit become too much an arena for the display of talent? Has not preaching become too much a merely intellectual effort? Do not multitudes go to church, not to worship God, dedicate themselves afresh to his service, and gain new strength for that service, but to be intellectually entertained, to have their minds interested, their thinking powers called forth, their imagination pleased? Their demand as to preaching is like that made upon the prophet of old, — "Speak unto us smooth things." They do not like to have their self-complacency disturbed, or their good opinion of themselves undermined by a scorching, pungent, earnest, discriminating discourse, which arouses an accusing conscience within them, arrests their spirits with the iron grasp of God's truth, and leaves them no longer "at ease in Zion." They admire displays of poetic genius in the pulpit, eloquent painting, beautiful descriptions of God's goodness and his great mercy

to men ; but the severe duties of practical godliness and the inevitable issues of a worldly and sinful life, set forth in plain Scriptural terms, — strong delineations of true holiness of character, delineations which convict men of sin and shut them up to condemnation unless they repent and reform, — these are thought to be somewhat out of place in addressing an audience of refined, intellectual, cultivated persons.

The community, at least the now large portion of the educated and cultivated community, has become so Christian in appearance, so improved in manners and conduct, that some are disposed to think that the stern and uncompromising features of the Gospel may be laid aside, or but seldom presented. In the progress of refinement, sin has so disguised itself in garments of beauty and grace, that many are deceived, and led to imagine that the thing itself no longer exists except in the lowest haunts of infamy and crime ; and to those intrusted with its high duties and responsibilities it becomes a serious question to consider, whether, in the progress of refinement, the pulpit has not been so affected in its language and services as to lose something of that strong hold it ought ever to keep upon the conscience and the heart of the world, — whether it does not speak too gently and softly of sin and punishment, and present too hesitatingly the necessity of repentance and regeneration and holiness. We do not mean that these should be incessant themes of discourse. We would give a large liberty and variety to the pulpit. We do not mean that preaching should be always suited to excite alarm, still less, that it should ever be denunciatory. We would have the preacher never forget that the goodness of God may lead men to repentance. But we would have him remember that Paul says he " persuaded men by the terrors of the Lord," and that, standing before Felix, he so reasoned " of righteousness, temperance, and judgment to come," that the judge became the culprit and trembled before his prisoner. We would have him remember, that the solemn sanctions of the Gospel, the fearful delineations of the retributions awaiting the ungodly and impenitent, fell from the lips of him who was Divine love incarnate, mercy's messenger to a corrupt and misguided world ; and we would have him not ashamed or afraid to use the language of his Master.

Neither in what we have said would we be understood as decrying intellect, undervaluing knowledge, learning, talent, in the pulpit. The highest measure of these that can be had

there, the better, if they be sanctified by those gifts of the spirit, those graces of the heart, that alone make them of any avail to the high purposes of the pulpit. We only mean, that intellect alone, arrayed in all the accomplishments of the most profound, splendid, or diversified scholarship, is not the first requisite. Moderate abilities, a limited portion of general knowledge and mental culture, united with a deep acquaintance with the word of God, and a fervent piety, living and growing in the soul, — these will form a preacher of a higher order, of a higher order so far as the great object of preaching is concerned, a preacher with more power to persuade, regenerate, sanctify, to convert men to holiness and God, than the most exalted genius and the largest learning, destitute of this devout and fervent spirit. It was not Mr. Buckminster's intellect, exalted as it was, nor his profound and extensive learning, — it was his heart, that gave him his power in the pulpit. It was his piety, his serious and devotional spirit, his simple and profound love of God and goodness, that anointed his lips with a holy unction, and produced those sermons that are now read with interest and edification by so many minds of different religious creeds, and different degrees of mental cultivation. In a merely intellectual point of view, in the absolute amount of thought and range of knowledge embraced, the "Sermons on Christian Communion" are equal, if not superior to Mr. Buckminster's two volumes; but it may be questioned whether they have the same unction and power, or whether, though read to an equal extent with his, they will ever reach and influence as many hearts.

But our limits require us to leave the subject, and to omit several points that we intended to touch upon. Our chief object in this notice will have been gained, should we succeed in directing attention to the "Sermons on Christian Communion." Mr. Sullivan has done a good work in collecting and editing this volume. Although it does not correspond, as we have said, to our expectations, it is a collection of excellent, instructive, edifying sermons, in its general spirit and character highly honorable to our denomination, and we hope it will be extensively read and circulated. We intended to give some extracts, for the benefit of those of our readers who may not have seen the volume, but we have occupied all the space at our command. S. K. L.

NOTICES OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

General Principles of the Philosophy of Nature: with an Outline of some of its recent Developments among the Germans, embracing the Philosophical Systems of Schelling and Hegel, and Oken's System of Nature. By J. B. STALLO, A. M., lately Professor of Analytical Mathematics, Natural Philosophy, and Chemistry, in St. John's College, N. Y. Boston: Crosby & Nichols. 1848. 12mo. pp. 520.

THIS book will not find many readers; nevertheless, it is on many accounts a remarkable work. The author, as we understand, is a Catholic, an ex-Professor of a Catholic college in New York, of German descent, but born and educated in this country. His German affinities appear on every page, but we cannot say the same of his Catholic faith. On the contrary, a pretty careful perusal of the volume had led us to set him down as a rationalist. He holds, for example, that the Middle Ages were "the ages of faith," "when Christianity *culminated*"; he also speaks of "the Christian epoch" as something which "*was*," and again he says, "the Spiritual never retraces its steps" (page 173). He is indignant at certain "*philosophes*" who make the faith of former ages to rest on "the artful device of a few impostors." "The saints and martyrs did not live and die," he contends, "for an illusory shadow; they died for *the divinity within them*. '*L'homme dupe*' is a fit subject for comedy and derision; but '*l'humanité dupe*' has never existed." He goes on, however, to object to what he calls "an analogous assertion, which is not a jot the better," — namely, that mankind have been exclusively indebted for the great revelations they have received to "a few chosen individuals." He will not allow that this is true except as "the spiritual sun of the world, at the break of each new historical day, gilds lofty eminences sooner than low valleys" (page 175). On the subject of miracles he is sufficiently explicit, for he says: — "The verification of truths by external miraculous phenomena is a logical circle, and makes *matter* a criterion for *mind*, subordinates the *essence* to the *phenomenon*. The mind, reason, the Spiritual, is the Highest, and is absolutely incapable of deriving strength from another authority" (page 179).

As has been intimated before, Mr. Stallo's habits of thought and expression are wholly German. This is to be regretted, for it prevents him from coming any nearer than most Germans

would to the English or American mind in his expositions of the difficult passages in German metaphysics. Take the following for an example.

"The Eternal, therefore, is literally the Zero of nature, and from it every thing temporal, finite, proceeds. The first discession of Zero is that into + —; the *self-definition* of the Eternal. + and — are, as it were, the spirits of all numbers; every number is only a successive position of + or —. The numbers are *acts* of the primitive idea, of Zero, which is not absolute Naught, but an *ideal* act without substratum. This primitive act has a twofold tendency, that of affirming and that of denying itself. + is the self-position of 0; but +, being nothing else than 0 in position, must return thither, which takes place through the medium of —. The act of affirmative position is therefore simultaneously that of negation; the 0, when existing, is necessarily + —. The realization of the Eternal is therefore its own antithesis. 0 is = + —; not = + or = —." — pp. 232, 233.

Our Trinitarian friends are welcome to the light and support to be derived from another paragraph in this connection.

"The Deity is essentially a trinity: 0 + —. Since every individual thing or being is but the uttered thought of that trinity, and the Deity's thoughts are acts of self-consciousness, — *since the Deity thinks only itself*, — it follows that every individual thing or being must also exhibit a trinity, and that every individual act must be a repetition of the primitive act. The forms corresponding respectively to 0 + — are *rest*, *motion*, and *extension* (form, solidity)." — p. 233.

These extracts are taken from his account of Oken's system. His expositions of Hegel are often quite as dark. We sometimes hear the expression, "as common as the air we breathe." Now suppose a person, desirous to know a little more about what is so common, should consult the work before us. He will read as follows: —

"The element of undifferentiated simplicity is now no longer positive identity with itself, or self-manifestation, light as such, but merely negative universality, degraded to a momentum of individuality, and therefore also affected with gravity. As negative universality it is the unsuspected, but insinuating and consuming, power over the Organic and Individual, — a fluid passive with respect to light (transparent), but vaporizing whatever is individual, penetrating everywhere, — *air*." — p. 426.

But we must not judge this work by its defects alone, especially as they are such as are scarcely to be avoided by one who would go to the bottom of the subject. In one respect, it manifestly has the advantage of all preceding attempts to expound in English Schelling and Hegel. Mr. Stallo is not content with indicating the point of departure of each system, and its method, or with discussing some of the leading principles involved therein. After having done this, he goes on, in his account of each system, to

note its manifold applications throughout the whole circle of the physical and moral sciences. Accordingly, we are disposed to say of this book what probably cannot be said of any other in the language. A student may take it, and by dint of hard study come at length to understand the Germans as well as they understand themselves. Whether the play, if *play* it may be called, would be worth the candle, is another question; — to be determined probably, as our author intimates in his Preface, by the individual's "craving for mental unity," by his desire to find some general principle which will show the intimate connection of all sciences, and, by going to the bottom of things, solve the problem of the universe. W.

Revolutionary Services and Civil Life of General William Hull; prepared from his Manuscripts, by his Daughter, MRS. MARIA CAMPBELL: *together with the History of the Campaign of* 1812, *and Surrender of the Post of Detroit*, by his Grandson, JAMES FREEMAN CLARKE. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1847. 8vo. pp. 482.

To the curious in American biography, to those interested in the details of individual life and the varieties of individual character among the men who acted a conspicuous part in our Revolutionary struggle, this work will be valuable and instructive. Though prepared by near relatives, it is marked by great fairness and impartiality, and every statement in relation to the most important passages in General Hull's life is sustained by unquestionable and authoritative documents. To the generation now on the stage of active life, General Hull is known only by his misfortunes in the campaign of 1812, his surrender of Detroit, the charges of cowardice and treason brought against him for that act, his trial and conviction on those charges, and his subsequent pardon by the President of the United States. His Revolutionary services are comparatively but little known, and even where known, the dark cloud that gathered around his later years has been permitted to overshadow and conceal them. His own successful and conclusive defence of his conduct in the campaign of 1812, published in a pamphlet in 1824, never incorporated into any permanent historical work, is now but little known. Multitudes have never seen nor heard of it, and the prevalent impression throughout the country is still unfavorable to his character, as a man weak and inefficient, who had not the energy to conduct, nor the courage to meet the exigencies of a military campaign. It was natural that his descendants, to whom the facts of his life were familiar, and the real merits of his charac-

ter well known, should wish to present them to the public, as an act of justice to his memory, and a valuable contribution to the true history of the period and the events which his life covered. They have well and faithfully executed the work, and every candid and thorough reader of the volume will probably lay it down with the conviction that it rescues a worthy name from dishonor, and secures to General Hull his appropriate place as a true patriot and an honest man. L—p.

Naomi, or Boston Two Hundred Years Ago. By ELIZA BUCKMINSTER LEE, Author of the "Life of Jean Paul." Boston: Crosby & Nichols. 1848. 12mo. pp. 448.

IN less than two months from the day of the publication of this volume a large edition of it had been disposed of, and it has gone through the press again. Of course it must have found already many readers, and have been subjected to much criticism. Only in form can it be called a work of fiction, for it is essentially a history, a record of facts. We believe it to be faithful in its delineation of characters, and in its narrative and incidents, to the actual reality of the past in our own metropolis. Two dark epochs are recorded in our history, clouding, to some extent, the noble and pure memorials of the fathers of New England, — the proceedings against the Quakers, involving fines, imprisonments, mutilations, banishments, and four executions on the gallows, — and the witchcraft delusion. Of neither of these tragical incidents of our history had any writer availed himself in any considerable work of the imagination, or in an historic novel, till Mrs. Lee, in the volume before us, made the Quaker *persecution* the basis of her interesting tale. However much of fiction there may be in the grouping and the drapery of her characters, she assures us that every important incident and circumstance in her story is perfectly accordant with veritable facts. The difficult task was set before her of doing justice to two parties who sincerely and conscientiously differed, probably to as wide a degree of antipathy as ever yet sundered any two religious sects. It is a bewildering and a painful controversy. There is no lack of fairness or impartiality in her rehearsal of it. So careful has she been to present the opposing tenets and views and the mode of self-justification of either party, that some readers may regard as unnecessary repetition what she intended as a security against misrepresentation or concealment. The characters of the tale are drawn with mingled delicacy and power of delineation; they are true to nature and self-consistency. Beautiful sentiments and fine descriptions of scenery are interspersed through the volume,

occurring at intervals as some relief from the contemplation of human infirmities. The ardent eulogists of the Puritans, who commend indiscriminately all that entered into their opinions and methods, will doubtless take exception to what may seem harsh delineations of some of their sterner traits; but, after all, the essential question is, are they not faithfully presented in the garb of their own age to us of this age?

We believe that this volume will be valued as a most acceptable addition to our local literature. It exhibits skill and talent in the writer, an appreciation of the more earnest struggles and aspirations of living souls, and a faithfulness to history which no reader can dispute. The heroine presents to us an engaging and lofty character, with no weakness of sentimentalism or fanaticism to qualify our interest in her. E.

Poems. By James Russell Lowell. Second Series. Cambridge: G. Nichols. 1848. 12mo. pp. 184.

"Many things," says Novalis, "are too delicate to be thought, many more to be spoken." Of these, according to our mind, are many of the themes in which Mr. Lowell delights. Nothing was so painful to us in his former volumes, nothing so unpleasantly stamps the present, as a certain peculiarity, at least, of taste, expressed in revelations of incidents and interests too sacredly beautiful for popular survey. Yet through all these we formerly passed into so much of real poetic grace and power, that we were willing to accept our good fortune without much criticism; and with respect to similar faults, we are disposed so to receive this new Series,— whose novelty, by the way, is of collection only, not of production, for most of the poems are old acquaintances. We should, however, hardly be just, did we not express, in general terms, our regret at the development of some new faults, of a transitory but disagreeable nature. We refer to a strange inelegance in the use and coinage of words, to an occasional inharmoniousness of musical effect, and especially to a too frequent vagueness and obscurity of language, resulting rather from feebleness than from expansion of thought, and reminding us, in some places, of those German poets whom Goethe reviles as "mixing too much water with their ink." But, in mentioning these defects, we cannot forget that we are speaking of a book which contains some of its author's finest poems. The noble "Lines on the Present Crisis," the ode, "To the Future," as exquisite in form as it is heroic in spirit, the "Pine-tree" whose musical movement recalls to us the spirit's song in the Prometheus Unbound, the quaint fascination of "Hebe," the de-

licious, simple beauty of the "Indian Summer Reverie," — these are truly gifts which demand our gratitude, and we closed the volume with a deepened conviction of the author's power, and a heightened interest in his productions, past, present, and to come.

H—t.

The Sibyl, or New Oracles from the Poets. By CAROLINE GILMAN. New York: Wiley & Putnam. 1848. 12mo. pp. 313.

HOWEVER skeptical our modern generation may be as to the prophetic virtue of these Oracles, every one, we think, must feel the beauty of the "fair words" in which the deceptive strains are sung. Industry and taste have done their work faithfully, and the field of English poetry has been carefully traversed and examined. In skilful hands, the book cannot fail to furnish very pleasant and graceful amusement, and it may fulfil a higher service, we think, by opening to the public a much wider view of the poetical literature of our language than is generally familiar. For ourselves, we do not quite enjoy the sight of our favorites and friends on this Delphic tripod of the drawing-room. It is an addition to "poet uses" which hardly pleases us. But, this aside, a work more admirably fitted to its purposes we have rarely seen. Popularity waits upon the name of the accomplished compiler, and the "Sibyl" has already been installed by the winter firesides (long sacred to fortune-tellers) of many pleasant homes.

H—t.

A History of Framingham, Massachusetts, including the Plantation, from 1640 *to the present Time, with an Appendix, containing a Notice of Sudbury and its First Proprietors; also, a Register of the Inhabitants of Framingham, before* 1800, *with Genealogical Sketches.* By WILLIAM BARRY, late Pastor of the First Church in Framingham. Boston: Munroe & Co. 1847. 8vo. pp. 456.

THIS is one of the most elaborate and successful works of the kind that we have seen. It contains all the valuable information that can now be gained respecting the pleasant town of Framingham; and to those who are interested in tracing the progress of things for two centuries through the quiet events of a country place, it must afford much instruction. The more minutely we become acquainted with these local histories, especially in what relates to the ministry and the church, the less do we feel disposed to complain of our own times. Many curious incidents we should be glad to copy from the volume before us. The Genealogical Sketches, occupying nearly three hundred pages

of closely printed matter, must have cost a great amount of labor. We have no personal acquaintance with Framingham, but have hardly read a page here without finding something of interest. We welcome the book as very complete in its way, and as a real acquisition to our historical resources; while it must be particularly prized and valued by those, who, either themselves or through their ancestors, have been connected with the families and events which it notices. Future generations in Framingham will thank the author for his modest but useful labor. M.

Dramatic Poems. By HARRIETTE FANNING READ. Boston: Crosby & Nichols. 1848. 8vo. pp. 297.

THE titles of these poems, three in number, are sufficiently imposing, — "Medea," "Erminia," and "The New World." The first is a reproduction of the Grecian story; the second, an Italian tale of the republican ages; the third, a tragedy founded upon the early history of Hispaniola, and introducing the family of the heroic Caonabo, whose life and wrongs are so beautifully related in the familiar pages of Irving. A facsimile of a letter from Mrs. Madison is prefixed to the Poems, and the authoress, in her Preface, expresses her gratitude to many friends, whose kindness has sustained her in a publication to which she was impelled chiefly, she says, "by the pressure of want without."

H—t.

*** WE are obliged, from want of room, to omit or defer several notices, some of which were prepared for this number. Among the subjects of them are Whitwell's Translation of the Epistle to the Romans; Curtis's Treatise on the Law of Copyright; Sparks's Library of American Biography; Turner's Biographical Notices of Jewish Rabbis, — of which we shall speak in our next number. We must dismiss, in the briefest manner, *Xenophon's Memorabilia of Socrates, with Notes*, by R. D. C. ROBBINS, — which does credit to the taste and scholarship of the editor; *The Lesson of Life, and other Poems*, by GEORGE H. BOKER, — a volume which has some spirited portions, but which seems better fitted to amuse the privacy of friendship than to edify an exacting public; *My Teacher's New Year's Present for the Year* 1848, by F. T. GRAY, — a pleasant and useful offering to the young, containing short "stories" and hymns; *Prayers for the Use of Families*, by WILLIAM ENFIELD, LL. D., — a reprint of an excellent manual of devotion; *Progress of the Christian Life, being a Sequel to the Formation of the Christian Character*, by

Henry Ware, D. D., — a valuable fragment republished from the late edition of Mr. Ware's Works; *Rainbows for Children*, edited by L. Maria Child, — a volume of fairy-stories, with illustrations, for which we are indebted to a lady of Boston, whose talent is shown in both the text and the embellishments.

The Church Record. A Sermon preached in Grafton, Sunday, December 27, 1846; *containing Historical Notices of the Congregational Church in said Town.* By Edmund B. Willson, Minister of the Congregational Church and Society. Worcester. 1847. 8vo. pp. 30.

The Duty of Obedience to the Civil Magistrate. Three Sermons preached in the Chapel of Brown University. By Francis Wayland, President of the University. Boston: Little & Brown. 1847. 8vo. pp. 40.

A Tribute to the Memory of Simeon S. Goodwin, delivered in the Unitarian Church, Louisville, Ky., September 5, 1847. By John H. Heywood. Louisville. 1847. 12mo. pp. 12.

Unitarian Christianity, its Object and Influence. A Sermon preached at the Dedication of the Unitarian Church in Athol, Mass., Wednesday, December 8, 1847. By Samuel F. Clarke. Boston: Crosby & Nichols. 1848. 8vo. pp. 24.

Need of the Sanctuary in the City. A Sermon preached at the Dedication of the Indiana Street Congregational Church, Sunday Evening, December 12, 1847. By Thomas B. Fox, Minister of that Church. Boston: Crosby & Nichols. 8vo. pp. 28.

The Christian in his Village Home. A Discourse on the Life and Character of Hon. Joseph Lyman, delivered on the 19th of December, 1847. By Rufus Ellis, Pastor of the Second Congregational Church, Northampton. Northampton. 1848. 8vo. pp. 16.

The Four Anniversaries. A Sermon preached to the Unitarian Church and Congregation in Keene, on Sabbath Morning, December 26, 1847. By A. A. Livermore. Keene. 1848. 8vo. pp. 12.

The Public Man. A Discourse on Occasion of the Death of Hon. John Fairfield, delivered in Washington, December 26, 1847. By Joseph Henry Allen, Pastor of the Unitarian Church. Washington. 1848. 8vo. pp. 27.

The Position of Unitarianism defended. A Discourse delivered at the Reopening of the First Independent Church of Baltimore, on Sunday, January 23, 1848. By its Pastor, George W. Burnap. Baltimore. 1848. 8vo. pp. 31.

A Letter to the People of the United States, touching the Matter of Slavery. By THEODORE PARKER. Boston. J. Munroe & Co. 12mo. pp. 120.

All War forbidden by Christianity. An Address to the Citizens of Dover, delivered on Thanksgiving Evening, November 25, 1847. By REV. W. P. TILDEN. Dover, N. H. 1847. 8vo. pp. 16.

An Address delivered before the Boston Mercantile Library Association, January 3, 1848. By DANIEL N. HASKELL, a Member of the Association. — *A Poem* (before the same). By S. A. DIX, a Member of the Association. Boston. 1848. 8vo. pp. 40 and 17.

A Citizen's Appeal in Regard to the War with Mexico. A Lecture delivered at Lyceum Hall, Lynn, January 16, 1848. By CHARLES C. SHACKFORD. Boston. 1848. 8vo. pp. 40.

WE have but recently obtained a copy of Mr. Willson's sermon, delivered late in 1846, and published last year. As its title states, it is historical, belonging to that useful, but unpretending, class of discourses, which gather up and preserve on the printed page facts which might otherwise be forgotten or lie buried in obscure manuscripts. To the future ecclesiastical historian of New England these discourses will prove an invaluable treasure. — Neither visionary, nor mystical, nor sentimental, but dealing in plain, substantial thought, President Wayland argues that governments are authorized to use force, when necessary to protect their own citizens against either a domestic or a foreign foe; he justifies defensive, and condemns offensive, war; he teaches the old-fashioned doctrine, that obedience is due to civil magistrates so long as they command nothing wrong, but no further; we are not to aid them in wrong-doing, but to labor in all constitutional ways to arrest them in a career of injustice and wickedness. These points are all well reasoned. A few years ago, parts of the sermons might have been pronounced commonplace; but the times seem to require the reassertion of first principles. We wish the President had literary conservatism enough to write "Cæsar," and not "Cesar," as the word uniformly appears on the pages before us. — Mr. Heywood's discourse, in its style simple and direct, places before us a man of active business habits and great benevolence, — a good man and a Christian. — Mr. Clarke's sermon is what the occasion and place of its delivery naturally demanded; it contains just views, clearly expressed, and is to be commended for its liberal and catholic spirit. — Without uttering a philippic against wealth and the wealthy, Mr. Fox refers to the peculiar temptations of cities, from which he argues the need of increased attention to the erection of temples for Christian worship and instruction, and especially of "unexpensive

churches"; the Indiana Street church, he says, is an "experiment"; there is to be "no classification or sale of pews, and the seats are rented at a uniform rate." The discourse, which is appropriate and animated, shows that the author has a right view of the nature of his work. — Mr. Ellis had a "noble theme," which he has worthily treated in a discerning discourse, vigorously written, and full of just and manly thought. — Mr. Livermore's four Anniversaries are the Landing of the Pilgrims, Christmas, the Close of the Year, and New Year, each of which receives appropriate notice, and all together furnish materials out of which the author has constructed an impressive practical sermon. — We have rarely read a discourse which has delighted us more than Mr. Allen's, on the death of Governor Fairfield. From the individual whom it commemorates, it leads the thoughts up to "the ideal standard of personal character," and alike in its eulogy and the wider range of reflection on which it enters towards the close, it is marked by a chasteness, a beautiful simplicity and freshness, which constitute the highest merit and charm of this class of discourses. — Mr. Burnap's discourse contains a succinct but clear history of the church in which he ministers, with a vindication of the course pursued by its founders, and an explanation of the principles on which it rests, all so happily blended as to preserve a proper unity, with an increasing interest as the discourse proceeds to its close.

One of the marked peculiarities of Mr. Parker's Letter is the multitude of historical and statistical statements it contains, designed to illustrate and fortify his general views and reasoning. Admitting, which we see no cause to doubt, their accuracy in the main, though the authorities are not given, they present a formidable array, and we can hardly believe that they can be spread before the public, with the aid of Mr. Parker's eloquent appeals, without effect. — Mr. Tilden, in his Address delivered on Thanksgiving evening, and published at the request of "gentlemen of different denominations of Christians," maintains the principle, that war is universally, and under all circumstances, condemned by the Gospel of Jesus. — Mr. Haskell's Address before the "Boston Mercantile Library Association" is a production of uncommon merit, showing careful intellectual culture, sound views, and a right spirit, that speak well for the influence of the institution. The Poem by Mr. Dix, delivered on the same occasion, the dedication of the "New Rooms" of the Association, is creditable to its author. — Mr. Shackford confines himself to a discussion of the war with Mexico, its origin, character, and consequences; his pamphlet is one of the best we have seen on the subject, excelled by none in intellectual power and pungent moral appeal.

INTELLIGENCE.

RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

Ecclesiastical Record. — We have fewer notices than usual to include under this head. Rev. Mr. Willis has closed his ministry in Walpole, N. H. — Rev. Mr. Nute has relinquished his pastoral connection with the church in Petersham. — Rev. Mr. McIntire has resigned his connection with the church in Brattleboro', Vt. — Rev. Mr. De Lange has taken charge of the congregation in Quincy, Ill. — Rev. E. G. Holland is preaching to the society in Southington, Conn., under an engagement which will continue till the close of the spring. — The society at St. Louis, Mo., have welcomed back their minister with a substantial liberality significant of the estimation in which they hold his services. — The congregation at Chicago, Ill., is prospering under the ministry of Rev. Mr. Adam. — The Unitarians in Galena, Ill., who for the last two years have enjoyed the preaching of Rev. Mr. Woodward, are anxious to erect a meetinghouse, for which, however, they will need assistance from abroad. — The society at Montreal, C. W., under the care of Rev. Mr. Cordner, is in a firm and prosperous condition. — An impression has been diligently spread abroad, that the Unitarian congregations of Boston are falling into decay. The dedication of two meetinghouses within the last four months, and the completion of two others, which we shall probably have occasion to notice in our next number, do not indicate the approaching ruin of our denomination. One of our oldest societies has been greatly embarrassed by a debt incurred by rebuilding their meetinghouse, but we have no doubt they will extricate themselves by one of those generous efforts of which we have lately had most pleasant examples. Another congregation, that has suffered from unhappy internal difficulties, is gradually recovering its strength. Only one of our churches is in danger of dissolution, and that from causes affecting the population of the city, to which we referred in a former number. All our other congregations, we believe, are in as good a state, and some of them are actually stronger than they were a year ago.

We observe that the religious papers of the country are beginning to notice the occurrence of *revivals*, after a period remarkable for the absence of such special manifestations of interest in religion. We should not be surprised if they should become frequent. Alternations of religious sensibility are among the established facts of experience, and may be explained on known principles of human nature. A community, or a country, like an individual, may be at one time in a lethargic, and at another time in an excited state. Under the restrictions which we believe their past history has taught the friends of revivals to impose upon their tendency to run into extravagance, we doubt not they may be productive of good. At least, we think their effect on our own denomination is decidedly beneficial. The excitement, which almost upheaves the churches around us, before it reaches us has spent its violence, and we feel only a healthful agitation. We should anticipate, and welcome, an increase of spiritual life in our churches, as the consequence of a revival in their neighbourhood.

Universalist Denomination.— We observe with pleasure the interest which the Universalist clergy in different parts of the country are taking in the question of Supernaturalism. One or two of the younger ministers having avowed sentiments involving a denial of Christ's peculiar inspiration and authority, others have not only expressed their dissent from such views, but have published able vindications of the miraculous character of Christianity. The appearance of Davis's book of Revelations, of which some notice was taken in a previous number, has increased the interest on the subject, three hitherto accredited preachers among the Universalists having accepted the volume, as containing an authoritative communication of truth, and even established a magazine, under the title of the "Univercœlum," in support, and for the propagation, of yet farther "revelations." The question whether persons holding such opinions can be properly considered as Christian ministers has been raised, and publicly discussed. The Boston Association, composed of ministers and lay delegates from the Universalist congregations in this neighbourhood, at a special session held at Cambridgeport on the 1st of December, 1847, by adjournment from a regular meeting at Lynn, at which the discussion arose, came to the following result by a very large majority: —

"*Resolved*, That this Association express its solemn conviction, that, in order for one to be regarded as a Christian minister with respect to faith, he must believe in the Bible account of the life, teachings, miracles, death, and resurrection of the Lord Jesus Christ."

The New York Association, at a late meeting, passed this, among other resolutions: —

"That no minister shall receive or retain the fellowship of this Association, who shall not subscribe and file with the Standing Clerk the following declaration: — 'I sincerely declare, that I receive the Bible as containing a special and sufficient revelation from God, which is the rule of Christian faith and practice; and that I will strive faithfully to preach its doctrines and inculcate its precepts.'"

The propriety of requiring any such declaration as a condition of membership of an ecclesiastical body constituted as we suppose the Universalist Associations are, is a question for them rather than for us to decide, but the language of the "declaration" seems to us particularly well chosen, and if the practice of inquiring into the faith of candidates for ordination should prevail among us, we doubt if any better form of interrogation could be adopted.

The number of ministers among the Universalists who are inclined to adopt anti-supernatural opinions is, so far as we can judge, very small.

Ecclesiastical Architecture. — The erection of several new churches in Boston reminds us of some thoughts which were suggested by a visit to New York a year or two since. A vast improvement has taken place in the style of buildings devoted to public worship. In the two cities which we have named, particularly, costly structures have been erected, imposing in their exterior and elaborately finished as to their internal decorations. These buildings have, almost without exception, been, or have at least been presumed to be, after some order of the Gothic architecture. A few years ago the Grecian temple threatened to supplant the New England "meetinghouse," and in many of our villages neat

edifices with columnar porticos, destitute of spire or tower, might be seen usurping the place of the venerable but ungraceful building in which the men of a former generation had worshipped. But now, in our cities at least, nothing seems to be thought proper but an imitation — such as it may be — of the ecclesiastical buildings of the Middle Ages. We might say a word on the absurdity of copying the admitted defects of these structures. But our attention has been more especially drawn to the unsuitableness of the Gothic style, in its essential features, to the purposes of Protestant worship. The long nave, the lofty ceiling, the narrow window, admitting an imperfect light, the frequent pillars intercepting the view, are all hindrances to the attainment of these purposes. They belong properly to the cathedral, and the cathedral belongs to a Communion where the principal service is the mass, and not to one which makes preaching the chief part of its public religious exercises. In Catholic countries one is impressed, immediately upon entering a church erected centuries ago, with its adaptation to the wants of an assembly which came together, not to receive instruction, but to kneel before an altar and bow in the presence of the uplifted host. The long distance of the aisles, the space through which the incense disappears in its ascent to the roof, the dim and shadowy light, are favorable to the effect of the Roman Catholic ceremonial. But how ill suited are they to the accommodation of an audience who meet to join in the extemporaneous prayers and listen to the address of a "religious teacher"! In England, where the "Established" worship has always worn a Catholic semblance, the sermon, as is well known, is regarded as the least important part of the service, and the edifice which Catholic piety had reared might, without much inconvenience, be transferred to Protestant uses. But for Presbyterian or Congregational assemblies, that is, in all denominations that reject a printed form of prayer, and elevate the discourse of the preacher to the chief place among the public services of the Lord's day, — a place which it is likely to hold, whether it be entitled to it or not, — the peculiarities of the Gothic architecture are precisely those which should be avoided. Indeed, they *must* be avoided to some extent, or the house become useless. It must be curtailed of its proper length, and be made to present such disproportionate dimensions, that we greatly wonder men of severe taste do not cry out against the mutilation of so important a feature in a building meant to please the eye. Much of the ornament, too, of the English or Continental churches, which it is just now the fashion to copy, has no possible intrinsic recommendation, and if it be not grotesque, is meretricious.

There remains among the discoveries of the future a true Protestant style of ecclesiastical architecture. The old Puritan meetinghouse had but one thing to recommend it, — its steeple, often unsightly, but always pointing to heaven. The Grecian temple, of Pagan origin, discarded this emblem of a lofty faith. The Gothic church corresponded to the wants and tastes of a period when hierarchical pride and popular ignorance had converted Christian worship into a pompous ceremony. Who is he that shall erect a building expressive of Protestant ideas and adapted to the purposes of Congregational service? Such a man would immortalize his name, and would confer on his own and subsequent ages a benefit which they could not but gratefully acknowledge. Will not some one of our artists turn to account the hint which we have thrown out?

Relief of the Poor. — If Unitarians have not taken a strong interest in foreign missions, nor furnished as liberal contributions as we might desire for the spread of Christian truth in their own land, they have never shown an unwillingness to relieve the necessities of the poor. In their attention to the bodily wants of the destitute around them, they have discovered a ready and generous spirit worthy of notice. Nor have they neglected to make provision for the intellectual and moral wants of those who came under their immediate observation. We have often referred to the Ministry-at-large here, and the similar institution, under the name of Domestic Mission, in England. We have no doubt, that, in proportion to their numbers, the English Unitarians do more, in their Free Day and Sunday Schools, for the education of the poor, than any other denomination. Here, our system of public schools renders private effort for this purpose comparatively needless; yet the evening schools for our adult foreign, or native, population, and the sewing schools for girls, which are kept in connection with the chapels of the Ministry-at-large, are very useful. Institutions for the relief of indigence and the employment of the friendless multiply among us as an acquaintance with their condition reveals their necessities. Two such institutions have gone into successful operation in this city within the last two years, — the "Temporary Home for the Destitute," where persons without money or friends in the city may find comfortable accommodation, till, through their own efforts, or the assistance of others, they can procure permanent employment, — and the "Needlewoman's Friend Society," which provides work for females who depend on their needle for support, and pays them a fair price for their labor. An institution of a similar character is sustained by the members of the Unitarian societies in New York and in St. Louis, and probably in other places. Sewing Circles for the benefit of the poor are common. The Massachusetts General Hospital, with its ample endowments and admirable management, attests the liberality of Boston. The last Report of the Managers of the Seaman's Aid Society shows what a beauty of sentiment may be thrown around a wise beneficence. We do not wish to claim on behalf of our denomination any praise for their good deeds, but when we are taunted for not giving evidence of interest in religion, we are tempted to quote the words of an apostle, who has said, to "visit the fatherless and widows in their affliction" — by which we suppose he meant to describe a practical sympathy with those who are in want and trouble — is a part of "pure and undefiled religion."

Ordinations and Installations. — Rev. John Weiss, late of Watertown, was installed as Pastor of the First Congregational Church in New Bedford, Mass., December 29, 1847. The Sermon was preached by Rev. Mr. Peabody of Boston, from 1 Timothy iii. 9; the Prayer of Installation was offered by Rev. Dr. Putnam of Roxbury; the Address to the Society was given by Rev. Mr. Morison of Milton; and the other services were conducted by Rev. Messrs. Brown of New Bedford and Dawes of Fairhaven.

Rev. Grindall Reynolds, of Boston, a recent graduate of the Cambridge Divinity School, was ordained as Pastor of the Third Congregational Church and Society (at Jamaica Plains) in Roxbury, Mass., Jan-

uary 12, 1848. The Sermon was preached by Rev. Mr. Coolidge of Boston, from John xiv. 9; the Prayer of Ordination was offered by Rev. Mr. Gannett of Boston; the Charge was given by Rev. Mr. Robbins of Boston; the Right Hand of Fellowship, by Rev. Mr. Alger of Roxbury; the Address to the People, by Rev. Mr. Hall of Dorchester; and the other services, by Rev. Messrs. Stone of Sherburne, Morison of Milton, and Clapp of Roxbury.

Rev. George F. Simmons, formerly of Waltham, was installed as Minister of the Third Congregational Society in Springfield, Mass., February 9, 1848. The Sermon was preached by Rev. Mr. Peabody of Boston, from Romans viii. 6; the Prayer of Installation was offered by Rev. Mr. Morison of Milton; the Charge was given by Rev. Dr. Walker of Cambridge; the Right Hand of Fellowship, by Rev. Mr. Everett of Northfield; the Address to the Society, by Rev. Mr. Harrington of Hartford, Conn.; and the other services, by Rev. Messrs. Nightingale of Cabotville and Ellis of Northampton.

Rev. Samuel Longfellow, of Cambridge, a graduate of the Divinity School, was ordained as Pastor of the Unitarian Church and Society in Fall River, Mass., February 16, 1848. The Sermon was preached by Rev. Mr. Weiss of New Bedford, from 1 Corinthians i. 12; the Prayer of Ordination was offered by Rev. Dr. Francis of Cambridge; the Charge was given by Rev. Dr. Francis; the Right Hand of Fellowship, by Rev. Mr. Ware of Cambridge; the Address to the People, by Rev. Mr. Briggs of Plymouth; and the other services, by Rev. Messrs. Brigham of Taunton and Hale of Worcester.

OBITUARY.

Hon. Joseph Lyman died at Northampton, December 11, 1847, aged 80 years.

Should we speak of this good man to those only who knew him best, and in his best days, we should not fear to be thought extravagant in using strong and marked language. Judge Lyman was eminently a good man, — a humble, consistent, and seemingly complete Christian. Than this there is no higher character, and can be no higher praise. Born in Northampton, October 22, 1767, he passed his childhood there, and receiving a partial fracture of the skull by a fall which nearly terminated his life, the injury, with the delicate health caused by it, secured for him a liberal education. Studying with the Rev. Solomon Williams in his native town, and being incidentally examined and approved by a tutor from Yale College before he was twelve years old, he entered that College, held a good rank, and graduated in 1783, at hardly sixteen years of age. Pursuing the study of law, under the direction of Caleb Strong, he practised first in Worthington, then in Westfield, and in 1793 returned to Northampton, where he passed the rest of his long life. From this period until he had reached the age of seventy-seven, nearly half a century, he held some public office, having been commissioned as a Justice of the Peace by John Hancock, chosen soon after Clerk of the County for Old Hampshire, afterward appointed Judge of the Court of Common Pleas, then Judge of Probate, then Sheriff of the County until he resigned, in 1844. Besides these offices, he was a member of the

Hartford Convention, in 1814, a fact of which he always spoke freely and gladly, bearing witness to the high integrity and patriotism of the men who composed that body; and in 1820 was chosen a member of the Massachusetts Convention for revising the Constitution of the State. Judge Lyman was twice married, and found his chief happiness in the quiet of home, among children and friends, in his beautiful native village. He was always active, always diligent and cheerful, seldom suffering, we believe, from ill-health, until he sustained a paralytic stroke, a few years ago, from the effects of which he never wholly recovered. A return of the same disease caused his death.

Integrity and urbanity, gentleness and firmness, a childlike deference to others, with entire independence of opinion and action, a kindness of heart that seemed to recognize no distinctions, and a moral discernment as quick and decided as it was charitable, — these were some of the traits of Joseph Lyman. Often have we been confounded by the meek and marked respect which the venerable man paid even to inexperienced youth, especially to every one who stood in the relation of sacred teacher. For every thing sacred, his reverence was profound. Nurtured in a Christian home, and making an early profession of faith, a regard for things holy, for the Bible, the Lord's day, the church, all religious institutions, and even religious prejudices, if sincere, seemed a part of his nature. Yet was he as far from superstition or servility as possible. He was willing to call every man brother, but no man master. The hard theology to which he was early and long accustomed, produced little impression, except to convince him of its errors, and make him yearn for the truth. Still, he never allowed it to keep him from the house of God, to quench the ardor of devotion, or injure the spirit of charity. Not few or small were the sacrifices he made for religion, — if for this any thing should be accounted sacrifice, — first, and for a very long period, as a constant hearer and supporter of preaching which he could not approve or enjoy, and then, as a generous founder and unfaltering friend of a new and unpopular church. Than that church, no object filled a larger place in his affections, his prayers, his resolute and consistent support, his unpretending but unstinted liberality, for the last twenty years of his life. We have never known a more decided, intelligent, or happy Unitarian believer; we have never known a kinder friend or more upright man. And even those who sympathized least with him in the first of these relations were ready and glad to bear testimony to his worth in the latter.

To such a man, the loss of strength and of usefulness, the breaking of an erect and vigorous frame, impaired speech, and failing memory, with the possibility of protracted helplessness, could not be other than a severe trial, — perhaps the severest of his life. But sweetly did he bear it, and patiently wait for the lingering messenger of release. The end was peaceful. It may be the partiality of friendship, but we love to repeat the words of an intimate observer, who thus speaks of him in life and death. "I have never, in my extended commerce with mankind, seen such graceful civility, such sincere urbanity, as in him; and when death had set his seal upon the doom of fourscore years, and had claimed all that was mortal of him, I never beheld so divine a beauty left on the features of perishing humanity." H.

THE

CHRISTIAN EXAMINER

AND

RELIGIOUS MISCELLANY.

MAY, 1848.

Art. I. — THOMAS SHEPARD, AND THE EARLY FATHERS OF NEW ENGLAND.*

A new interest has been awakened of late years in the history of the early settlement and the early settlers of New England, and several valuable contributions have been made to our literature upon this subject. A closer investigation of the character and principles of our Puritan fathers has, in most cases, served only to deepen our respect and admiration. Even the grave errors with which they have been charged admit of great palliation, if not of complete defence. They had shining virtues, whose quenchless light will illumine the ages, and against which a petty detraction, like a serpent hissing at the sun, spends its foul breath in vain. Their faults were, in part at least, the faults of the age in which they lived. They did a great and good work in their day; and should be held, and will be held, in eternal honor for what they did. The large-minded lover of liberty and truth in our own times finds so much to thank them for, that he is slow to reproach them, even where at first sight they seem to have deviated widely

* *Lives of the Chief Fathers of New England.* Vol. I. *The Life of John Cotton.* By A. W. McClure. Boston: Mass. Sabbath School Society. 1846. 12mo. pp. 305. Vol. II. *Lives of John Wilson, John Norton, and John Davenport.* By A. W. McClure. Boston: Mass. Sabb. School Society. 1846. 12mo. pp. 305. Vol. III. *The Life of John Eliot, with an Account of the Early Missionary Efforts among the Indians of New England.* By Nehemiah Adams. Boston: Mass. Sabb. School Society. 1847. 12mo. pp. 323. Vol. IV. *The Life of Thomas Shepard.* By John A. Albro. Boston: Mass. Sabb. School Society. 1847. 12mo. pp. 324.

from the course which he, standing on a higher point of view, sees to be the wisest and best. It is a narrow, an ungrateful, an unjust spirit, which, passing by their many and great merits, sneers at their failings, — forgetting their childlike piety, laughs at the superstitions which were sometimes incorporated with it, — or, turning away from their noble sacrifices for conscience and truth, points scornfully to their own intolerance towards the heretics and agitators of *their* jurisdiction. "It is too much," says Macaulay, "that the benefactors of mankind, after having been reviled by the dunces of their own generation for going too far, are to be reviled by the dunces of the next generation for not going far enough." Our Pilgrim fathers were *men;* had their faults; committed mistakes; sinned, too, no doubt, in some of their doings or sayings; and, as we believe, held, mingled with the glorious Gospel of the blessed God, an erroneous system of theological doctrines, derived from Calvin, not from Christ. This was only what was to be expected. "It is not possible," said Robinson, in his noble parting address to the first little band of exiles, "it is not possible that the Christian world should have come so lately out of such thick antichristian darkness, and that perfection of knowledge should break forth at once." We do not claim for the fathers of New England an exemption from human error and frailty; we do not demand for them an unqualified and extravagant admiration; but we do maintain that a fair and candid judgment of their merits, — a judgment, also, by the light and standard of their own times, — will place them high among the true heroes and benefactors of mankind. We owe them, the world owes them, a debt of gratitude and reverence never to be cancelled or forgotten.

We therefore hail with satisfaction every well-performed endeavour to retouch and bring out the fading inscriptions on their venerated tombs, to revive the memory of their virtues, and to keep it in fresh lustre in the eyes of their posterity from generation to generation. We thank the individuals to whom we owe the publication of the works which stand at the head of this article for what they are doing towards this object. "The Publishing Committee of the Massachusetts Sabbath School Society," as is stated in the Introduction to the first volume, have determined

"to prepare a series of biographical sketches of some of the distinguished men who were God's instruments in making this

country what it is. These volumes will collect and present in one view every thing which relates to them, that can be recovered from scattered confusion and from oblivion. It is intended that this exhibition shall bring out the characters, actions, sufferings, and principles of these remarkable men in such form as may interest and profit the general reader, and not be unuseful to such as may be studious of the early history of our country." — p. vii.

The plan of the proposed publication, as expressed in the attractive title, "Lives of the Chief Fathers of New England," is certainly one which will meet the cordial approbation of all who love the memory of our ancestors; and if it be well carried out, the work cannot fail to be an acceptable and useful one. The volumes which have already appeared have, on the whole, given us much satisfaction. Saving a few passages in which the doctrinal views of the writers come into collision with our own, we give them a cordial welcome. Coming as they do from Orthodox sources, and designed specially, we suppose, for the Orthodox community, we regard it as a good sign of the times that there is so little to be objected to on this score. The first two, by Rev. A. W. McClure, were originally prepared by him, we believe, for a series of Sunday evening lectures, delivered at the Park Street church in Boston. This, perhaps, will account for the rhetorical and somewhat florid style of portions of them; and for the sermon-like close of some of the chapters, — a little different, we think, from what it would have been, had they been written only for the eye. There is, however, a glow, vigor, and warmth about the style which will make it agreeable to most readers. It is sometimes deficient in simplicity, elegance, and ease, — is occasionally careless and incorrect, — but is almost always graphic and spirited. Mr. McClure gives us the biographies of the first four ministers of the Boston church, Cotton, Wilson, Norton, and Davenport, all of them men of high repute in their day for piety, virtue, and talent. About half of the first volume, which purports to be the biography of Cotton, is taken up with general matter relating to the history of the Puritans, and to the principles and merits of the Congregational system as adopted by our fathers. We were at first disposed to object to this, as not being exactly in place, nor expected, in a professedly biographical narrative. But the portions of the book to which we refer are so well written, and contain so clear and vigorous a vindication of Congregationalism, that we are on the whole glad

to see them introduced where they are, as we think them more likely to be generally circulated and read in this form, than if they were published by themselves or in an argumentative treatise. So with the second volume, containing the lives of Wilson, Norton, and Davenport. A considerable portion of it is devoted to a defence of our fathers against the oft-reiterated charges of persecution, bigotry, and intolerance. It contains an interesting and forcible statement of the considerations which may be urged to justify or to extenuate their course. In both these volumes there are passages containing theological sentiments to which we do not agree, flings at Arminian and Unitarian opinions, and lamentations over the apostasy of some of the present generation from the old dogmatic faith and ecclesiastical order of the New England churches. But they are only what we might expect from an Orthodox writer feeling strongly on the subject, and sometimes letting his zeal get the better of his judgment. We have no disposition to criticize or to be offended with them. It is not to our present purpose to discuss the points on which they touch.

The lives of Eliot and Shepard, in the third and fourth volumes, are very free from objectionable matter of this kind. Their writers had wisdom and good taste enough to know that it is not always necessary or judicious to hang out their sectarian flag. The life of the Roxbury "Apostle," by Mr. Adams, contains a full account of the Indians of New England, of their interviews with Eliot, of their questions and religious confessions. Some of these last, we think, might have been omitted without impairing the value or interest of the work. Mr. Adams introduces, also, some remarks upon the position and claims of Congregationalism, which are so just and liberal, that we would gladly help to circulate them as widely as possible by transferring the substance of them to our own pages.

"It is not to be understood," he says, "that Mr. Eliot, as a true Congregationalist, supposed that any form of church government was imposed by Christ or the Apostles upon the Christian church, as being in any way essential to the existence of a true church of Christ. With regard to the appointment of any special form of church government, it would seem that there is a wise silence in the New Testament. The genius of Christianity forbids an adherence to any form of ecclesiastical order as essential to the existence of a church of Christ. This truth was declared by Christ at Jacob's well to the Samaritan woman." — p. 63.

"Our preference for the Congregational form of church government is not properly founded on any prescriptions in the New Testament, but on our convictions that this form is most accordant with the genius of Christianity, and of republican institutions. But so surely as we insist on Congregationalism as having any 'divine right' or authority, and we seek to propagate Congregationalism with such convictions, we are as surely High-Churchmen and Puseyites as can anywhere be found. To insist on the absence of all forms, and on the perfect simplicity of worship, with a sectarian spirit, shows as great an attachment to *a form of worship* as though we urged the adoption of all the ceremonies of the cathedral. We may be as bigoted in favor of simplicity as of any thing else, and a Quaker and a Congregationalist may be as much a formalist and a Churchman as any other." — p. 64.

"He who says, 'No church without simplicity of worship,' and he who says, 'No church without a bishop,' are two extremes which meet. At the same time, we shall be the degenerate sons of men who made such sacrifices for purity in worship as did the Pilgrims, unless we adhere to our simple and beautiful mode of church government and worship, as preferable to any other." — p. 65.

There is another passage, however, relating to a different subject, in which the author's comments may startle our readers a little, as they certainly did us. They contain what seems to us very strange and questionable doctrine, and such as will hardly be accepted in our days, even with so Orthodox an indorsement, however it might have passed current in the days of Eliot. We do not remember to have seen it anywhere so openly and broadly stated before. We imagine that there are very few preachers, however pious and pure-minded (for, according to Mr. Adams, they must be eminently such to do the work of imprecation acceptably), who will venture, even "in their nearest approaches to God," upon a practical application of this doctrine; and that there are few congregations, however sound in faith and devout in feeling, who would tolerate it. They feel that Jesus and not David, that John of Ephesus and not his namesake of Roxbury, are to be our guides and examples in this matter. They cannot easily forget the dying prayer of the Saviour, nor the rebuke which he once administered to the beloved disciple, who, in the childhood of his faith, not yet knowing what manner of spirit he was of, but full, no doubt, of "a righteous indignation," wished to call down fire from heaven,

as did Elias, upon those who had ill-treated his Master and himself. We do not believe, — God forbid that we should hope! — with Mr. Adams, that such language as Christ himself rebuked will ever "come into more familiar use by the people of God, in their nearest approaches to him." We will quote the whole passage, that our readers may judge of it for themselves.

"Mather speaks of the singular and surprising successes of Mr. Eliot's prayers. He mentions the following fact. They who are displeased at David's imprecations against his enemies may see in it that a good man may pray for the destruction of the incorrigibly wicked, when great and good ends will be accomplished by it, leaving it submissively to the appointments of the all-wise God. A good man never ventures to pray in this manner, except when he is under a strong influence drawing him very near to God with holy freedom and boldness. At such times his feelings are eminently pure; and it is in such times that good men feel impelled to pray for the removal of those who oppose God, and hinder others in their salvation. No doubt, if there were more of ardent piety, there would be more of righteous indignation against the obstinate opposers of religion, and we should find ourselves better able to understand the feelings and language of David, when praying against the enemies of his throne and of the God who ruled by him. That language will come into more familiar use by the people of God, in their nearest approaches to him, as they go forth with their King and Saviour in his conflicts with his enemies.

"The fact to which the allusion has been made was this: —

"There was a pious gentleman of Charlestown, by the name of Foster, who, with his son, was taken prisoner by the Turks. The news being spread in this vicinity, the good people offered up many prayers for his deliverance. But it was reported that the prince within whose authority he was a prisoner had resolved that within his reign no captive should be set free. The friends and acquaintances of this man then concluded that his captivity was hopeless. Soon after, on some public and solemn occasion, Mr. Eliot used these direct and forcible petitions. 'Heavenly Father! work forth deliverance of thy poor servant, Foster; and if the prince which detains him will not, as they say, dismiss him so long as himself lives, Lord, we pray thee to kill that cruel prince; kill him, and glorify thyself upon him.' Soon after, the prisoners returned and brought news that in consequence of the untimely death of the prince they had been set at liberty."— pp. 67 – 69.

Much as we admire and love the good old missionary, we cannot take him for a pattern in all things, certainly not in this. We would follow him, and we would follow David, only so far as with them we can follow Christ. According to the doctrine of the foregoing passage, the devout patriot, and the pious advocate for peace, when their "feelings are eminently pure," will pour them out in ardent, death-invoking imprecations against those who would plunge their country into an unholy war, or who are pertinaciously pursuing any wicked and ruinous course of public policy. They may be persuaded that the accumulating mischief is chiefly the work of one man at the head of the nation, "the cruel prince," who, with the spirit of a Turkish despot, slaughters his thousands in cold blood in the council-chamber. If Eliot was right, why not pray, as Eliot did, — "Lord, kill that cruel prince," — and save the nation? We confess we cannot go so far as this. We cannot take such prayers as Eliot's for our model. There is another, of which it reminds us, from a kindred source, but mingling the quality of mercy with that of righteous indignation, which we like much better. One of the old Scotch Covenanters, waxing warm in his prayer against some persecuting Catholic prince, exclaimed, — "Take him, O Lord, and shake him over the pit of hell! Shake him over the pit of hell! *But, O Lord, dinna let him fall in!*"

We have not had time and opportunity to investigate and verify for ourselves all the facts and dates contained in these volumes. We have no reason to doubt their general historical accuracy; we take it for granted, that the writers have been faithful and scrupulous in this respect. But we know from experience how minor errors, and sometimes more important ones, are copied from book to book, from generation to generation, without question or suspicion, until accident or persevering research has detected and exposed them. In the volumes already noticed, we do not perceive that any new facts have been brought to light in regard to the history of the ministers or of the times in which they lived. Perhaps it is not to be expected. We suppose, that, in most cases, little more is to be done in this way. The harvest has been fully gleaned. A new life of an ancient New England worthy will be in a great measure only and necessarily a reconcoction of the old matter already gathered by previous writers; among whom, for industrious accumulation at least, the palm must be given

to Cotton Mather,* who, with all his follies and pedantry, should have the credit of having preserved a great amount of information and anecdote respecting our ancestors. Our modern biographies are, in parts, only expurgated chapters of the "Magnalia," in a newer dress.

The fourth volume of the series, by Mr. Albro, contains the biography of "the faithful and famous Shepard," the minister of Cambridge. This we have read, perhaps from personal bias, with special interest and pleasure, both as a well-written memoir of one of the most eminent of our New England clergy, and because it throws some new light on a part of his ministry with which we were previously unacquainted. In the prosecution of his inquiries on this subject, looking among the manuscripts in the library of the Massachusetts Historical Society, Mr. Albro very unexpectedly and fortunately came upon some unpublished letters of Mr. Hooker to Mr. Shepard, his son-in-law, serving to elucidate one of the trying periods of his ministry, which had escaped the researches of former biographers, and had gradually passed into oblivion. Our readers who are interested in such matters have seen the curious autobiography of the Cambridge pastor, dedicated to his son and namesake, the minister of Charlestown, for whose use it was written. It is a rare document of its kind, and was not generally known to be in existence till within a very recent period. The original manuscript, in the handwriting of Shepard, after passing through various hands, finally came into the possession of Rev. James B. Howe, of Claremont, N. H., and was by him sent to Rev. Nehemiah Adams, then pastor of the Shepard Congregation-

* Mr. McClure, who in one place speaks feelingly of Cotton Mather as one "so grossly slandered and maligned in our days," has himself, in a particular instance, done him a little unintentional injustice, in his reference to a story told by Mather of Mr. Cotton's meekness and self-control under an affront. "Mather," he says (Vol. I. p. 283), "relating the circumstance in his *magniloquent* style, remarks, — 'Mr. Cotton would not set the beacon of his great soul on fire at the landing of such a little cockboat.'" The fact is, that, in this case, Mather tells his story with unwonted simplicity; and his "magniloquent" remark upon it is not of his own manufacture, but is a borrowed squib, taken from the admired Fuller, who says, in his "Holy State," B. III. ch. 8, — "Be not mortally angry with any for a venial fault. He will make a strange combustion in the state of his soul, who at the landing of every cockboat sets the beacons on fire." The "maligned" Mather has sins enough of style, at least, to answer for, without being made wholly responsible for this little "cockboat" of another. We do not think that he meant to pass it off as his own. We would fain do him all justice in this, as we believe we have done in other and graver matters.

al Society in Cambridge, with permission to print it for the benefit of the church connected with that society. It has recently been presented to the library of Harvard University. It was first published by Mr. Adams in 1832, and the proceeds appropriated to the purchase of a set of communion-plate for his church. A corrected edition of it, with notes, has recently appeared in Young's "Chronicles of Massachusetts." This precious and interesting record has, of course, formed the basis of the present extended biography; and has given Mr. Albro a manifest advantage over his predecessors, by furnishing him, in a connected form, and from the fountain-head, with the necessary materials for his work. We confess, that, preferring, as we do, a man's own words, in his account of himself, to those of any modern editor or commentator, however faithful and competent, we should have been glad, if it had been deemed equally suitable to the purpose, to have had Shepard's original narrative unaltered for the body of the work, with such notes as might be needed, and a supplement, carrying on the history from the point at which Shepard stopped. We do not wish, however, to find fault with what has been done so well on a different plan, which perhaps better answers the main object of the publication, designed as it is for young people and for popular use.

To speak of some minor matters, — we observe that the decipherer and transcriber of Mr. Hooker's letters, in releasing them from their long imprisonment, has in some instances misreported his Latin. The mystical chirography of the Hartford patriarch, made still dimmer by age, will account in part for the mistakes which now appear on the printed page. Several of his Latin sentences are incorrectly presented. E. g., p. 241, "Has premises," we suppose, should be *His præmissis;* p. 243, "Sint mutua preces" should be *Sint mutuæ preces;* p. 257, "Saluta salutanda" should be *Saluta salutandos;* p. 279, for "Qui bene habuit, bene vixit," read *Qui bene latuit*, etc. So in the Latin quotation, on p. 275, from Cotton's Preface, we observe several misprints. These errors, though they may not be perceived or cared for by the great majority of readers, ought not to pass unnoticed and uncorrected. With other verbal blemishes, which we might point out, in the preceding volumes, we would notice them in no hypercritical spirit, but in the hope of doing something by a word

of caution to check the carelessness of our printers and editors. We trust that they will be corrected in future editions. We must add to them the errors of date and fact which appear on p. 189 of the Life of Shepard, where it is stated that "Mr. Hutchinson came to Boston in company with Henry Vane, in 1633." He arrived in the Griffin, in the autumn of 1634, with his wife, the celebrated Ann Hutchinson; but not in company with Sir Henry Vane, who did not come over till a year afterwards.

We cannot let this opportunity pass without expressing the hope, that the work which has been, in the main, so well begun, will be executed, in all its parts, with the ability and finish which its subjects so richly deserve; that those who may be employed in its preparation will not content themselves with a superficial knowledge of the times and the persons they describe, gathered in an easy way from the most obvious materials, nearest at hand, but will draw from all available sources; will unite with its popular character such a correctness of detail, and thoroughness of historical research, and fidelity to truth, that it may be read with satisfaction by the student and the antiquary, as well as the less educated, and may be referred to with confidence as a standard authority upon the topics to which it relates.

Among the early ministers of New England whose lives and characters are portrayed in these volumes, there is no one, we think, who stands as a better specimen of the good old Puritan pastor than Shepard; no one to whose merits as a preacher and divine there is found a more cordial and unanimous testimony; no one whose ministry was on the whole more happy, peaceful, and influential. Cotton had his enemies and gainsayers; Norton's sun went into a cloud in his latter days; Eliot drew upon himself the censure of the civil authorities for the writing of his "Christian Commonwealth," and was compelled publicly to retract and disown the offensive sentiments contained in it; he had the pain, too, of seeing his long-cherished hopes and devoted labors in behalf of his Indian brethren grievously disappointed. Shepard seems to have pursued, from the beginning to the end, an even tenor of prosperous ministerial labor, beloved by his people, and universally esteemed and admired by the community, blessed with a steadily harmonious church, and happy in his domestic relations. It is remarkable, that, "al-

though he was a prominent and an efficient actor in scenes of controversy and public disorder which stirred up all the fountains of bitterness, such were his candor and tenderness, that the odium of persecution was never attached to his memory; and, while subject to like passions, and exposed to the same temptations, as other men, his reputation has descended to us without a blot from friend or foe." We have thought that a sketch of his life and ministry might not be unacceptable to our readers, as illustrating the character of our clerical fathers, and the spirit of the times in which they lived.

Thomas Shepard, like the greater part of the early emigrants to New England, was from the middle class of English society. He was the son of a tradesman in Towcester, in Northamptonshire. His father was "a wise, prudent man, the peacemaker of the place, and toward his latter end much blessed of God, both in his estate and in his soul." His mother, a conscientious and religious woman, died when he was but four years old. He was too young to feel her loss at the time, but it cast a shadow over his childhood, which he began to perceive when his father married a second wife, "who did let him see the difference" (happily, not always known) "between his own mother and a step-mother." He was unfortunate, too, in his early school life. The master under whose tuition he was first placed was a tyrant in his little kingdom, "exceedingly curst and cruel," ruling by the fear of the rod; and under his reign the faculties of the trembling child remained chilled and dormant. "He would deal roughly with me," says Shepard, "and so discouraged me from all desire of learning, that I remember I wished oftentimes myself in any condition, to keep hogs or beasts, rather than to go to school and learn." The Welch pedagogue of Towcester, like some modern empirics, who profess to cure all diseases by one and the same remedy, imagined that all varieties of capacity and temperament were to be managed by one and the same course of treatment. Shepard, a delicate, timid, shrinking boy, was crushed by a severity which might have stimulated a rougher and duller nature. What he needed was a judicious kindness to encourage and bring him forward. To these troubles and discouragements of his childhood was added another heavy calamity, the loss of his father, who died when he was ten years old. He was now left under the care of his step-mother, by whom his education was much neglected. But, happily for him, he did

not remain with her long. His oldest brother, now arrived at manhood, offered to take him under his charge, and to bring him up, for the use of the portion, £100, which had been left him by his father. This pleasant change in his own situation, and another which soon after took place in the village where he lived, placed him under influences more favorable to his happiness and improvement. The "cruel schoolmaster" died, and was succeeded by one of a milder temper and a better way of teaching. This man, who also officiated as a preacher in the same place, and was eminent in both his callings, exerted a happy influence over the mind of young Shepard. "It so fell out," he says, "that this man stirred up in my heart a love and desire of the honor of learning, and therefore I told my friends I would be a scholar; and the Lord blessed me in my studies, and gave me some knowledge of the Latin and Greek tongues, but much ungrounded in both." At about the age of fifteen he entered the University of Cambridge. This was in 1619.

During the first two years of his college life, although he seems to have been diligent in his studies, he accuses himself of neglect of God and private prayer. "The third year," he says, "wherein I was Sophister, I began to be foolish and proud, to show myself in the public schools, there to be a disputer about things which now I see that I did not know them at all, but only prated about them." Afterwards he fell into idle company, and though he was sometimes much affected and alarmed by the preaching which he attended, and by the conversation of his religious friends, he was for a time in danger of being led into vicious courses by thoughtless and dissipated associates. His principles, however, were too firmly rooted, and his conscience too quick and tender, to permit him to remain long under their influence. He was thoroughly awakened to his peril by that which has often proved to others the commencement of corruption and ruin to the whole man, body and soul. At a carousal at a college room, one Saturday night, he became "dead drunk," and was carried in this state to the chamber of a fellow-student, where he awoke the next morning to a full sense of his degradation and to all the horrors of remorse. The shame and self-loathing which followed his sin so wrought upon him, that from this moment he resolved to separate himself from his dangerous associates, and to live a devout and holy life. "When I was worst," he says, "God began to be

best unto me." He now gave himself to a course of religious inquiry and meditation. He had been educated under Calvinistic preaching and in the Calvinistic faith; and the operations of his mind under the influences of this faith, during the process of his religious change, which he describes with some minuteness, were such as might be expected from the doctrines in which he believed. He was for a time in great agony of mind, under fear of Divine wrath. "I had some strong temptations," are his words, "to run my head against walls, and brain and kill myself. And so I did see, as I thought, God's eternal reprobation of me, a fruit of which was this dereliction to these doubts and darkness; and I did see God like a consuming fire and an everlasting burning, and myself like a poor prisoner leading to that fire; and the thoughts of eternal reprobation and torment did amaze my spirits." Gradually his doubts and fears passed away; a clear and brightening faith succeeded the horrible gloom that had hung over him; he became a sincere and settled Christian, with the peace and assurance which he sought. After more than six years' residence at the University, and six months' study with the Rev. Thomas Weld, having taken his second degree in 1627, and received ordination from the Bishop of Peterborough, he commenced his ministry at Earls-Colne, in Essex. Here he preached with great acceptance and success for three years and a half, until the famous, or rather infamous, Laud became Archbishop of London. This arbitrary, superstitious, and persecuting prelate, whose furious intolerance drove so many of the best and purest of the English clergy into exile, was determined to show no favor or mercy to the Puritans. He carried into ecclesiastical affairs, of which he had the chief direction, the same despotic and oppressive policy which was pursued by King Charles and his advisers in other matters. Under the royal authority, he silenced all preaching by ministers who were not strict conformists to the ceremonies and discipline of the Established Church. Soon after his elevation to the archbishopric, he sent for Shepard, who was under suspicion of non-conformity, though, as he says, he had as yet thought little on the subject, and had formed no decided opinion about it. The account of the interview, preserved by Prince in an extract from a manuscript of Shepard's, now lost, is curious and interesting, both as it illustrates the character of Laud, and as it shows the goading treatment which our Pu-

ritan ancestors had to undergo in the maintenance of their principles.

"December 16, 1630. I was inhibited from preaching in the diocese of London by Dr. Laud, bishop of that diocese. As soon as I came in the morning, about eight of the clock, falling into a fit of rage, he asked me what degree I had taken in the University. I answered him, that I was Master of Arts. He asked, 'Of what College?' I answered, 'Of Emmanuel.' He asked how long I had lived in his diocese. I answered, 'Three years and upwards.' He asked who maintained me all this while, charging me to deal plainly with him; adding withal, that he had been more cheated and equivocated with by some of my malignant faction than ever was man by Jesuit. At the speaking of which words, he looked as though blood would have gushed out of his face, and did shake as if he had been haunted with an ague-fit, to my apprehension, by reason of his extreme malice and secret venom. I desired him to excuse me. He fell then to threaten me, and withal to bitter railing, calling me all to naught, saying,—'You prating coxcomb, do you think all the learning is in your brain?' He pronounced his sentence thus:—'I charge you that you neither preach, read, marry, bury, or exercise any ministerial function in any part of my diocese; for if you do, and I hear of it, I 'll be upon your back, and follow you wherever you go, in any part of the kingdom, and so everlastingly disenable you.' I besought him not to do so in regard of a poor town. And here he stopped me in what I was going to say. 'A poor town! You have made a company of seditious, factious bedlams. And what do you prate to me of a poor town?' I prayed him to suffer me to catechize in the Sabbath days in the afternoon. He replied,—'Spare your breath. I 'll have no such fellows prate in my diocese. Get you gone; and now make your complaints to whom you will.' So away I went; and blessed be God that I may go to Him."

After being thus forbidden to preach, he remained at Earls-Colne for some months, his people urging him to stay among them as their friend and counsellor, though no longer their minister in the house of God. During this period, he became fully convinced, upon further study and reflection, of the unscriptural character and evil tendency of some of the ceremonies of the English Church. Probably Laud was informed of this; at any rate, he was evidently apprehensive of Shepard's exerting a Puritan influence among his people in private, though silenced as a preacher. On visiting his diocese, he again cited Shepard to appear before him. "He

asked me," writes Shepard, "what I did in the place; and I told him I studied. He asked me, What? I told him, the Fathers. He replied, I might thank him for that; yet charged me to depart the place. I asked him, Whither should I go? To the University, said he. I told him I had no means to subsist there. Yet he charged me to depart the place." This sounds strangely in the ears of an American, who has been accustomed to think of religion as an affair between himself and his God alone; and who would regard it as an intolerable violation of the first rights of man to be controlled in the expression of his opinions, or in the choice of his residence.

Banished from his flock in Earls-Colne, Shepard accepted an invitation from Sir Richard Darley, a gentleman of Yorkshire, to become chaplain in his family. After a very narrow escape from drowning, in passing a bridge overflowed by the late heavy rains, he arrives, wet and chilled, late on Saturday night, at his new patron's. He is cordially welcomed. But the pleasure of his hospitable reception is sadly damped by the scene which presents itself as he enters the knight's house. He had hoped, perhaps, to see in the gentleman's mansion something like that which so charms us in Burns's beautiful picture of the "Cotter's Saturday Night." But he finds the backgammon-board, instead of the Bible, spread open upon the table; the rattling of dice, instead of the sound of prayer; the laugh and the light jest, instead of the grave conversation or the meditating silence which at his Earls-Colne home had preceded the Sabbath. He describes his deep dejection of spirit at this time, in a strange place, far from his friends, in a worldly, game-loving family, and "in a vile, wicked town and country." His situation, however, proved much more pleasant and satisfactory than he at first expected. "For though the lady was churlish, Sir Richard was ingenious," and the other members of the family very kind and attentive. Among these was Mistress Margaret Touteville, the knight's kinswoman, in whose society and affection he soon forgot his past troubles and present discouragements. He says, with great simplicity, that about the time of his going into Yorkshire he had a "great desire to change his estate by marriage; and had been praying three years before that the Lord would carry him to such a place where he might have a meet yokefellow." With this predisposition on his part, in addition to

the charms and merits of the lady, we may easily anticipate one of the results of his residence at Buttercrambe. His account of the change which his preaching wrought in the family, and his description of his first wife's character, are, as usual, somewhat quaint and artless.

"Not long after his arrival at Sir Richard's, there was a marriage of one Mr. Allured, a most profane young gentleman, to Sir Richard's daughter; and I was desired to preach at their marriage. At which sermon the Lord first touched the heart of Mistress Margaret with very great terrors for sin and her Christless estate. Whereupon others began to look about them, especially the gentlewoman lately married, Mrs. Allured; and the Lord brake both their hearts very kindly. Then others in the family, viz. Mr. Allured, he fell to fasting and prayer, and great reformation. Others also were reformed, and their hearts changed; the whole family brought to external duties, but I remember none in the town or about it brought home. And thus the Lord was with me, and gave me favor and friends, and respect of all in the family; and the Lord taught me much of his goodness and sweetness. And when he had fitted a wife for me, he then gave me her, who was a most sweet, humble woman, full of Christ, and a very discerning Christian, a wife who was most incomparably loving to me, and every way amiable and holy, and endued with a very sweet spirit of prayer. And thus the Lord answered my desires. When my adversaries intended the most hurt to me, the Lord was then best unto me, and used me the more kindly in every place. . . . . And thus I did marry the best and fittest woman in the world unto me, after I had preached in this place about a twelvemonth."

The three years which followed his marriage, in 1632, were years of trial, perplexity, and danger to the Puritan preacher. After many troubles and perils, which we need not detail, he at length sought an asylum and a home in New England. Embarking under the assumed name, as is supposed, of his brother, John Shepard, he arrived, in the autumn of 1635, at Boston, and immediately after took up his abode at Cambridge, where he became pastor of the church which was organized in that place towards the close of the following winter. Governor Winthrop, an eyewitness of the scene, has left a very full account of the whole transaction,* which, taking into view the distinguished character of the assembly convened on the occasion, is invested with a peculiar

* Savage's Winthrop, Vol. I. p. 179.

and remarkable interest. The ordination of Shepard over his new charge took place, it seems, not long after, but upon what day we have no record to tell us. It is a little singular that he himself does not mention it.

About a fortnight after the church-gathering, his wife, whose health had long been failing, died of a consumption, brought on by her exposure and fatigues on the voyage from England. She left one son, Thomas, to whom the autobiographical memoir from which we have quoted is dedicated. In the introduction, the father feelingly alludes to her, in words which will come home to the heart of many a child whose mother yet lives to love and watch over him.

"After God had given thee the ordinance of baptism, thy dear mother died in the Lord, departing out of this world to another, who did lose her life by being careful to preserve thine; for in the ship thou wert so feeble and froward, both in the day and night, that hereby she lost her strength and at last her life. She hath also made many a prayer and shed many a tear in secret for thee; and this hath been oft her request, that if the Lord did not intend to glorify Himself by thee, that He would cut thee off by death, rather than live to dishonor Him by sin. And therefore know, that if you shall turn rebel against God, and forsake God, and care not for the knowledge of Him, nor to believe in His Son, the Lord will make all these mercies woes; and all thy mother's prayers, tears, and death a swift witness against thee at the great day." *

Soon after the settlement of Shepard arose the famous Hutchinson controversy. The whole country was thrown into commotion by it; but it was put to rest by the Synod held at Cambridge in 1637. Mr. Shepard took an active and influential part in confuting and suppressing the dreaded Antinomian heresy, thus unexpectedly springing up to mar the peace of the churches. "And it was with a respect unto this vigilancy," says Mather, "and the enlightening and powerful ministry of Mr. Shepard, that, when the foundation of a

* The youth to whom these solemn and touching exhortations were addressed did not disappoint the hopes of his parents. He became a distinguished and useful man, the minister of the church in Charlestown, where he died of the small-pox at the age of forty-three. His only son, of the same name, and settled over the same church, had a brilliant but brief career, dying at the age of twenty-seven. He had also a daughter, Anna, married to Daniel Quincy, from whom one of the great men of our country and times was descended. Her only son, John Quincy, was the great-grandfather of John Quincy Adams, who was thus a descendant, in the sixth generation, of the "faithful and famous" Shepard. — See Young's *Chronicles of Massachusetts*, p. 558.

college was to be laid, Cambridge, rather than any other place, was pitched upon to be the seat of that happy seminary, out of which proceeded many notable preachers, who were made such very much by their sitting under Mr. Shepard's ministry." It was with reference to the newly broached doctrines of Mrs. Hutchinson and her followers, that Shepard wrote his course of "Sermons on the Parable of the Ten Virgins," published after his death by his son, aided by Mitchell. This is the largest of his works, and its merits may be inferred from the high esteem in which it was held by President Edwards, who, in his "Treatise on the Religious Affections," refers to it, and quotes it in a great number of passages. Edwards calls him that "famous experimental divine."

Shepard suffered a heavy loss in the death of his tried friend and parishioner, Harlakenden, in 1638; and soon after, a severe fit of sickness interrupted his labors. Two years after this, as appears from certain expressions in his diary, now more fully explained by the letters of Hooker already referred to, published by Mr. Albro, he was involved, in common with his people, in great pecuniary embarrassments, which, for a time, threatened very serious consequences, and even made him think of a removal to Matabeseck (Middletown), or some other plantation.

"This event in the life of Shepard," says his biographer, "is exceedingly interesting, not only as throwing light upon the trials and hardships to which our fathers in the ministry were subjected in the early days of New England, but especially as it brings out a prominent and beautiful feature of Mr. Shepard's piety. The purity of gold is tested by the crucible; and this trial of a faith 'more precious than of gold that perisheth' developed a state of mind which, amid the abounding hypocrisy and selfishness of the world, it is delightful to contemplate. The manner in which he stayed himself upon God, and rebuked his discontent, and quietly continued his labors under a burden of debt and of want, which, upon ordinary principles, would have justified his removal, may serve as a model. Ministers are doubtless subjected to many trials growing out of an insufficient maintenance; and the people may be more or less in fault for the embarrassments which distract their pastors. *But a hasty removal to Matabeseck is not the only cure;* nor will impatience and discouragement and complaint make the burden any lighter." — *Life*, p. 250.

Mr. Shepard was a zealous coadjutor with Eliot in his en-

deavours to civilize and convert the Indians. There was no one of the clergy, with the exception of that devoted missionary, who did more for them than he. In a little publication of his, entitled "The Clear Sunshine of the Gospel breaking forth upon the Indians of New England," he gives an interesting account of the progress which had been made in the conversion and civilization of the natives in his vicinity. He was also, as might be expected, an active friend and helper of the College in its struggling infancy. He coöperated with President Dunster in his well-conceived plan of concentrating upon the College the patronage of all the Colonies, and of obtaining from the people at large contributions for the maintenance of indigent students. His agency in carrying it into effect appears from the following passage in Winthrop's History, under date of May, 1645.

"Mr. Shepard, the pastor of the church in Cambridge, being at Connecticut when the Commissioners met there for the United Colonies, moved them for some contribution of help towards the maintenance of poor scholars in the College; whereupon the Commissioners ordered that it should be commended to the deputies of the general courts, and the elders within the several colonies, to raise (by way of voluntary contribution) one peck of corn, or twelve pence money, or other commodity, of every family, which those of Connecticut presently performed."

Shepard's memorial on this subject has been preserved,* and will be read with interest. "The tenor of it," as President Quincy remarks, "strikingly illustrates the simplicity and the poverty of the times." We find, also, that Shepard took a leading and active part in the establishment and vindication of the Congregational system, as adopted by our fathers. In this work he stands by the side of Cotton, Hooker, and Norton. He engaged in the discussion which was commenced in 1636, by some of their Puritan brethren in England, respecting "the New Church-Way." In conjunction with Mr. Allen of Dedham,† he wrote an elaborate answer to Ball's

* Hazard's State Papers, Vol. II. p. 17.

† What share each had in the work, we have now no means of ascertaining. Dr. Lamson of Dedham, a successor of Allen, was led, some years ago, to examine the question of its authorship, and, in a note appended to his Centennial Discourses, delivered in 1838, has given the result of his investigations. The evidence which he adduces seems to us to show, very conclusively, that it was the joint production of the two ministers. It was certainly so regarded and spoken of in their time, and long afterwards in New England. The son of Shepard, in his Election Sermon, refers to it as

strictures upon the Doctrine and Discipline of the New England Churches, which was published at London in 1648. In this treatise, says his biographer, "every thing necessary to a clear understanding of the discipline and order of the New England churches is explained and vindicated with a degree of learning and ability unsurpassed in any work of our Puritan fathers; and no one can read it attentively without assigning to its author [authors ?] a high place among the controversial writers of that age."

In such labors, and in the quiet and faithful discharge of professional duty, the life of the good pastor rolled on, short in years, long in usefulness and honor, greatly blessed on the whole, but not without its clouds. In 1646 he lost his second wife, the eldest daughter of Mr. Hooker, to whom he was married in 1637. "She was a woman," to quote his own description of her, "of incomparable meekness of spirit, towards myself especially, and very loving; of great prudence to take care for and order my family affairs, being neither too lavish nor too sordid in any thing; so that I knew not what was under her hands. She had an excellency to reprove for sin, and discern the evils of men. She loved God's people dearly, and was studious to profit by their fellowship, and therefore loved their company. She loved God's word exceedingly, and hence was glad she could read my notes, which she had to muse on every week. She had a spirit of prayer beyond ordinary of her time and experience. She was fit to die long before she did die." * Shepard's autobiography closes with the account of his wife's death. We learn from other sources that he was again married, in 1647, to Margaret Boradel, by whom he had one son, Jeremiah, who was minister of Lynn, and died in a good old age.

written by "Mr. Allen of Dedham, with my honored father." It seems, however, according to Dr. Lamson's statement, that a part of the first edition, published in 1648, was afterwards garnished with a false title-page, dated 1653, on which Allen's name is omitted, though still retained in the Preface. This we believe to be an unauthorized omission, though Mr. Albro gives it as his opinion that "the book was, without doubt, substantially the work of Mr. Shepard." If by this he means what we understand by the language, we think he has claimed for Shepard more than the evidence will warrant, and has therein done some injustice to Allen, who was a writer of acknowledged controversial ability.

* Only one of her children, Samuel, grew up to manhood. He died very soon after his settlement in Rowley, at the age of twenty-six. He is spoken of by Mitchell as "a very precious, holy, meditating, able, and choice young man, an excellent preacher, most dearly beloved at Rowley, and of all who knew him."

Mr. Shepard continued in the midst of an attached and affectionate people, honored and beloved by his contemporaries, until his death, which took place August 25, 1649, in the forty-fourth year of his age. It is thus noticed by Morton, in his "New England's Memorial." "This year, 1649, August 25, that faithful and eminent servant of Christ, Mr. Thomas Shepard, died, who was a soul-searching minister of the Gospel, and pastor of the church of Christ at Cambridge. By his death not only that church and people, but also all New England, sustained a very great loss; he not only preached the Gospel profitably and very successfully, but also hath left behind him divers worthy works of special use in reference unto the clearing up the state of the soul to God and man; the benefit thereof those can best experience who are most conversant in the improving of them, and have God's blessing on them therein to their soul's good."

The writings of Shepard, which had much reputation in his own day, and are quoted with great respect by succeeding authors, — Edwards, as we have mentioned, among the rest, — are now very little known, and scarcely to be met with, except in some of our public libraries or in the collections of the antiquarian. This oblivion of the works of one who, but a few generations since, stood in such high estimation in the churches of New England, both as a preacher and as a writer, is a striking commentary upon the uncertain and evanescent nature of popular fame. With the changes that are perpetually going on in forms of style, and modes of thought, and subjects of discussion, it is not to be expected that any works but those of the rarest genius should long outlive their own time. Shepard's, having served their turn, must share the common fate. Newer tongues, uttering his thoughts, must clothe them in words of a newer shape and more modern arrangement. Shepard's sermons and treatises would probably fail to interest the general reader of the present day, even though a Calvinist; certainly they would not please those whose sentiments and views of religion on many points differ from his so widely as ours. Making allowance, however, for this difference of taste and opinion, and putting ourselves in the situation of those who agreed and sympathized with him, we may find in the dead voice of his writings enough to show what the living voice of the preacher must have been. There is a serious, earnest tone of thought and language running through them, much familiar illustration, and great di-

rectness and simplicity. His style of preaching, according to all the accounts which have come down to us, was remarkably penetrating, impressive, and affecting; so that, though he is described as "a poor, weak, pale-complexioned man," he had great power over the feelings of his audience. We have often likened him in our thoughts to our own Henry Ware. "Of Mr. Shepard, I have been told," says Prince, "that he scarce ever preached a sermon but some or other of his congregation were struck with great distress, and cried out in agony, — 'What shall I do to be saved?' Though his voice was low, yet so searching was his preaching, and so great a power attending, as a hypocrite could not easily bear it, and it seemed almost irresistible."

He was a close student, and diligent in his preparations for the pulpit, which he usually finished by two o'clock on Saturday afternoon. We commend his rare, but praiseworthy, example to his brother ministers, few of whom, we suspect, finish their sermons even by the sunset of Saturday. "God," he once said, "will curse that man's labors, that lumbers up and down in the world all the week, and then upon Saturday in the afternoon goes into his study; when, as God knows, that time were little enough to pray in and weep in, and get his heart into a fit frame for the duties of the approaching Sabbath."

Notwithstanding his faithfulness and his success, it appears from his diaries, that he, like every teacher in every age, was often dissatisfied with himself and discouraged in the work of his ministry. It may be a consolation to some doubting and half-disheartened brother, to know that even one so highly esteemed and admired as Shepard often had fears and misgivings like his own. The following is one of his occasional meditations.

"I saw on the Sabbath four evils which attend me in my ministry. First, either the Devil treads me down by discouragement and shame, from the sense of the meanness of what I have provided in private meditations; and unto this I saw also an answer; to wit, that every thing sanctified to do good, its glory is not to be seen in itself, but in the Lord's sanctifying of it: — or from an apprehension of the unsavoriness of people's spirits, or their unreadiness to hear in cold or hot times. Secondly, or carelessness possesses me, arising because I have done well, and been enlarged and been respected formerly; hence it is no such matter, though I be not always alike. Besides, I have a natural dulness

and cloudiness of spirit, which does naturally prevail. Thirdly, infirmities and weakness, as want of light, want of life, want of a spirit of power to deliver what I am affected with for Christ; and hence, I saw many souls not set forward nor God felt in my ministry. Fourthly, want of success in me, when I have done my best."

That he was a man of most fervent and childlike piety, penetrated with a deep and constant sense of his accountability to God, — of great single-heartedness and devotion in his work, — a meek, humble, conscientious Christian, — no one can doubt. Like the rest of the early Puritan clergy of this country, he was a Trinitarian and a Calvinist. He did not attempt to throw a veil over the peculiar features of his creed. He preached it in all its terrors, yet with an affectionate zeal for the salvation of those whom God might call to himself through his ministration of the word. "When Mr. Shepard comes to deal with hypocrites," said Ward of Ipswich, "he cuts so desperately, that men know not how to bear him; he makes them all afraid that they are all hypocrites. But when he comes to deal with a tender, humble soul, he gives comfort so largely, that we are afraid to take it." Whatever we may think of his theology, there can be but one opinion of the preacher and the man.

We cannot better conclude this notice of one of the chief fathers of New England than in the language of his biographer: —

"When we consider the rich Christian experience which Mr. Shepard attained, the sacrifices which he cheerfully made for the sake of Christ and his Gospel, the great amount of ministerial and other labor which he performed with feeble health and manifold hindrances, the attainments which he made in sanctity and the knowledge of divine things, the able theological works which he produced, and the influence, felt even now, which he exerted in building up the churches of New England, — and all this ere he had passed the meridian of life, — we must regard him as one of the brightest ornaments of the Church, and hold his memory in profound and grateful remembrance."

W. N.

Art. II. — INDUCTION OF CHRIST'S NATURE FROM THE UNIVERSE.

The great eternal body of truth, binding in its embrace all worlds, and extending its sway unchangeably through all time, must be in every part consistent with itself; else were it no more truth. The universe were unworthy to be the creation of that God who changeth not, if unbroken harmony and self-consistence prevailed not through its whole extent. Truth being but a name for *that which is*, distinguishing it from that which is not, its very conception is, to the believer in a just and omniscient Deity, blended with the assurance that it harmonizes throughout all its parts. Amid the perplexities and apparent contradictions which sometimes crowd upon the inquiring mind, tending to shake its confidence in the unity of truth, the thought of what we are, of the lowness of our point of vision, and the infinite exaltation of God, must reassure its wavering faith. He alone who made, and whose laws sustain, all things, sees them divested of every mystery, and, glancing through all that has been, is, or shall be, perceives the whole scope, meaning, and harmony of the universe. Inferior intelligences, seeing but in part, vainly strive to reconcile creation's many mysteries; and some, alas! in their weakness, have declared them irreconcilable.

Let a figure show the relation in which we all stand to truth's eternal whole, and to each other. The earth on which we live is, in many points, its fitting image, — complete, diversified, harmonious, beautiful, seen but in part. Climb to earth's highest mountain-top; the part thou seest is but a point of its vast expanse, yet is that part most lovely. So, man! when thou hast reached the pinnacle of human intelligence, the portion of all knowledge thou hast attained is but as nothing to what thou knowest not; yet pleasant and glorious is thy little. From a thousand hill-tops may earth's beauties be enjoyed, which, though differing widely, are all real and consistent. So from a thousand mounts of vision mayst thou survey truth's fair realm, and though the scene be ever changing, still is it truth. Men there are, whose steps have only scaled the little hillock behind their native home, who listen incredulously to the traveller's narrative of Alpine wonders, and, with malicious smiles, quote their dead fathers to bolster up their ignorance, while some will even drive the

harmless stranger from their doors. Those, too, there are, who, having excavated for themselves narrow wells in the body of truth, and walled them around with cold, hard creeds, strive to cast all men therein, claiming that they alone are right, and that heaven can be seen only from their own depths of dogmatism. Others there are, also, who, casting off the galling chains of authority, earth's slave king, and walking in the light of the divine fire within, and the bright radiance of Christ's teachings, have reached a lofty point of vision, where, as far as mental eye can reach, lies spread out the world of truth, spanned by the calm, clear heaven of enlightened hope.

From all this flows the practical inference, that whoso loves truth and comprehends its vastness will look with no hollow charity on what he may esteem the errors of others; never assuming the thunders of denunciation, save against those who, with ruthless hand, would tear from man his rights of thought, and doom him to the dismal vaults of hypocritical profession. Whoso knoweth himself saith not to his neighbour, "Thou art wrong"; but rather, "Friend, I think thou art wrong." He uses the language of a man, not the dictation of a God. Unroll the bloody scroll whereon man's history is written; thou wilt find stain after stain recurring ever, in melancholy witness that man trusteth not in the silent, resistless power by which truth vindicates itself. Persecution, with all its ghastly train, has been evoked to expel from the human heart the heresy which God himself there planted, that reason and evidence alone can claim the right to control belief. Nor even yet is the spirit whence sprang all these enormities banished; for day after day do self-elected saints still, by word and deed, declare, "I am holier than thou."

The train of investigation on which we propose to enter may subject us to the censure of some sincerely pious minds. Yet an honest conviction of the correctness and importance of our conclusions urges us to speak decidedly, and should at least disarm criticism of all personal bitterness. Fain would we exercise and experience the charity we have inculcated. The proposed theme is, to deduce, as far as practicable, the nature of Christ from the acknowledged constitution of the universe.

If truth be one, the volumes of nature and revelation must harmonize. Firm in this belief, our sympathies go not with those whose distrust of the self-vindicating power of reveal-

ed truth would close against the panting soul the portals of the universe, consigning philosophy and reason to endless night. Reason gives to revelation its only legitimate credentials, and shall it be banished from its interpretation? Shall it not rather be our ally in attempting to dissipate the darkness which arbitrary and dictatorial interpretation has spread over even cardinal truths of Christianity? Weak indeed must be that faith which fears that reason can derive from the works of God a contradiction to the true meaning of his word!

That feature of the universe to which we would now draw attention is its *demonstrated vast extent.* All speak of creation as infinite, but most persons, we presume, attach no full idea to this expression. We call the stars suns, but most persons conceive of them merely as brilliant points. We speak of the planets as larger than the earth, but our conceptions dwarf the solar system to an insignificant orrery. The greatest of astronomers, after enlarging his ideas by years of constant effort, still fails to conceive of the universe as his intellect informs him that it is. Many truths there are thus claiming our assent in the enunciation, which we wholly fail to comprehend in all their extent and magnitude. Yet are we not less certain of their being truths, for we feel all confidence in the methods by which they are demonstrated.

In entering the field we have chosen, it may be apposite to give an outline of the process by which the heavens are scaled. Commencing with a unit of length, a base line of a few thousand yards is most carefully measured on the ground. Starting from this base, the angles of a series of triangles are accurately measured, and the sides calculated. Distant points being thus connected and their difference of latitude being astronomically determined, the length of a degree becomes known, and hence the earth's diameter. A transit of Venus across the sun's disk, observed by two distant observers, then gives the elements of an accurate determination of the sun's distance. The earth in its revolution around the sun reaches, at intervals of about six months, opposite extremities of the diameter of its orbit, distant about 190,000,000 of miles. If the angle subtended by one half this line at the distance of a fixed star were greater than one second, or $\frac{1}{3600}$ of a degree, a parallax would be observed, and the distance of the star become known. Until recently, observation has failed to discover any star having this annual parallax; but now three are recognized as exhibiting it, that

of 61 Cygni, of less than one third of a second, corresponding to a distance of 62,581,500,000,000 miles. No star is known to have a parallax corresponding to a distance less than 20,000,000,000,000 miles, though numerous observations have been made in search of such. Thus has our humble unit, by methods of unquestionable accuracy, enabled us to measure *distances* utterly inconceivable, but not the less real.

Equally incomprehensible is the countless *multitude* of stars revealed by the telescope. In Herschel's reflector, about 50,000 were estimated to have been visible in a sweep of 2° by 15°; and every increase of telescopic power serves only to reveal them in vastly greater numbers. Even the number of nebulæ observed (over 3,000 having been recorded as seen) exceeds our distinct conception, and new ones are daily added; yet most of these, on the application of high powers, are resolved into an immense number of stars. Doubtless we may say, with literal truth, that the stars visible by our present telescopic means are more numerous than the grains of sand on the earth we tenant. And who shall say what unbounded numbers may yet be revealed by enlarging those means, and what still more inconceivable multitudes no human eye shall ever see? Assuming, according to Herschel's estimate, the first seven magnitudes to contain 20,000, and assuming Struve's law for the increase of number in the diminishing magnitudes, the sixteen now subject to telescopic observation would contain somewhat over 5,000,000,000.

That each star is a sun, a magnificent, luminous body, is proved by the very fact of their being visible at such enormous distances. Dr. Wollaston, by satisfactory experimental methods, has shown, that, at 141,400 times its present distance, our sun would appear of the brightness of Sirius, while the parallactic limit beyond which this star is known to be is more than 200,000 times that distance; hence Sirius is a more powerful illuminating body than the sun. Taking this as an index of *magnitude*, every fixed star becomes a body of volume vastly superior to any our minds can conceive. Their sum, then, would make up a volume as perfectly baffling our comprehension as does their distance or their number.

Equally legible are the traces furnished by the sidereal universe of the flow of immeasurable cycles of *time*; though as yet they are only traces, and not demonstrations. Since astronomy became a science, scarcely time enough has elapsed

to serve as a unit in the estimation of the vast periods thus shadowed forth.

Thus does the universe present to us the real, actual, *demonstrated* personification or embodiment of the three grand infinitudes of distance, number, and magnitude, together with a glorious but glimmering reflection of the infinity of time. No idea which we can attach to these infinities approaches in grandeur and elevation to the true signification of the sublime propositions which our intellects thus demonstrate. But such truths rest not for their reality on our comprehension of them ; they are true in themselves, and would not cease to be so, though no created intelligence had ever dreamed of their existence.

Equally substantive and real is that sublime law which binds in one embrace the infinite fields of heaven. No proposition ever enunciated by human lips seems to have accumulated so many undeniable, experimental proofs of truth, as the simple law, that a mutual attraction acts, in the inverse ratio of the squares of their distances and directly as their masses, between all the particles of matter in the universe. The human intellect never appears more godlike than when, with no guide but this one law, it unravels the simple, yet complicated, movements of our solar system, and predicts, with unfailing certainty, the exact instant and circumstances of occurrence of the varied phenomena it exhibits. The aching head and weary hand may, perhaps, be betrayed in some lone column of an ephemeris ; but in the main, certainty most absolute rewards the night-long watchings and laborious calculations of the true disciple of Newton and the law which he discovered. Though "not a sparrow falls to the ground" without the action of the force of gravity, the astronomer furnishes proofs most sublime and unanswerable, that its law prevails with unbroken harmony throughout the universe. Not only do the members of our solar system implicitly obey it, but hosts of yonder glorious suns, whose distance reduces them, in our eyes, to mere twinkling points, concur in sublime testimony that such is the will of God. Struve's catalogue records 3,063 double stars, and about 6,000 have been observed, most of which are, doubtless, moving around their centres of gravity, and a considerable number in calculated orbits. It is a speculation of Sir William Herschel, but one bearing almost the force of demonstration, that our sun is a member of a nebula containing most of the stars vis-

ible to us. The nebulæ are evidently distinct groups of stars, many of which are so distant, as to appear, in the most powerful instruments, merely as spots of light; from which they are found in all stages of resolvability, to the Pleiades, partially resolvable by the naked eye. Just as satellites revolve around their primaries and the planets around the sun, is the sun, doubtless, revolving around the centre of motion of the milky way nebula, and this nebula, with its numerous kindred, revolving around the grand centre of nebulæ. A proper motion of our solar system through the fields of space has been rendered almost certain, and the point towards which it is moving approximately determined. Thus truly may we say, that the sublimest of known physical facts is the simple, all-pervading law which controls the movements of worlds, suns, and systems of suns.

The converse fact, which has just revealed to us the planet Neptune, that wherever this law is found by observation to prevail, there must be actual masses of matter to receive and exhibit its action, proves the binary stars to be, not merely luminous volumes, but truly material bodies. Their magnificent mutual orbits and intense illuminating power indicate that their masses must be enormous. The variable stars, whose light is shown by observation to undergo periodic variations of intensity, regularly succeeding at stated times, in some cases distinctly indicate rotation around an axis, and in others eclipses or transits by planets, or opaque, dark bodies. Indeed, every known fact relating to those remote regions indicates the prevalence of the same physical laws which control our nook of the universe, binding in harmonious union millions of systems analogous in organization to that in which we live. The beam of light, whose speed of motion no mind can conceive, though it come from suns so remote, that, ere man's history began, it had left its source only to reach us now, — even this mysterious agent, sole messenger to us from that distant host of heaven, obeys the same laws, exhibits the same nature, as the rays of our own glorious luminary, when his impartial splendors are pouring life into the great heart of man. Throughout the infinite fields of space, too, reigns the grand, almost terrible law of seclusion, insuperable seclusion, which, though attraction's mystic cord binds all worlds together, ever isolates each, and bounds to one certain home each soul connected with a material frame. Thus, in all its parts, the universe bears convincing traces of

unity of design, testifying to one creating power, and the continual control of one law-sustaining power.

Filled with an overwhelming conception of its vastness, and of the grand simplicity of its known laws, the mind asks earnestly, yet meekly, the Omnipotent Creator's sublime object in creating and sustaining a universe like this. Can any one doubt that it has an object commensurate in importance with its greatness? None but the atheist, and there are no atheists among those who in the least comprehend this greatness. Consciousness, reason, and revelation concur in answering, that God created the universe for intellectual and moral objects, as its great end. They alike testify, that, to effect these objects, it must be made throughout its parts the home of moral intelligences. The God whose benevolence peopled each nook and corner of earth has surely extended a like providence over the countless worlds of space. Sir John Herschel says, — "He must have studied astronomy to little purpose, who can suppose man to be the only object of his Creator's care, or who does not see in the vast and wonderful apparatus around us provision for other races of animated beings." In this, doubtless, all will agree. To us it would seem almost blasphemous seriously to claim that God has bestowed his noblest work only on this minute atom, leaving all the rest of the vast creation an unenjoyed, untenanted blank. Rather does it seem to us, nor do we think the idea savors of Materialism, that the physical extent of the universe is a true exponent of the number of intelligences which it contains. That such a relation exists between the human race and the earth which it inherits, varying with its general civilization, cannot be denied; analogy would lead us to extend it to each member of the universe, — an extension quite in accordance with its acknowledged object.

Hence fairly flows an inference most humbling to human pride, yet pressing home with all the force of truth on the mind thoroughly imbued with the premises, — that in the entire scheme of creation, the human race occupies a position not less subordinate in importance to the aggregate of created intelligences, than is our earth to the whole physical universe. Were this world at once blotted out from existence, the fact could be known only to the inhabitants of perhaps four of our planetary neighbours. To all beyond our system, the event, in itself, would be for ever unperceived. Nor

can we reasonably suppose, in view of the constitution of the universe, that the complete annihilation of the human race would be to the great mass of created intelligences a more important event than would now be to us the extinction of a race tenanting some undiscovered world in the farthest bounds of space. Most difficult is it for us correctly to conceive of our true position in the creation; as all our modes of thought, our daily occupations, our fostered feelings of pride, combine to exaggerate our estimate of man's importance, and to blunt our perceptions of all that lies beyond our immediate sphere of cognizance. But as the eternal stars would shine on unchangingly, though no human eye received from them one ray of light, so unaltered by human denial or ignorance must remain man's relations to God and the creation. All wit and reason and denunciation cannot make this earth larger, or the universe smaller, — cannot exalt man to sovereignty, or annihilate one of those moral intelligences which it is God's will should be. It becomes us, then, to enlarge our conceptions by every effort, until we image this world as but one among many, and man but as the type of millions of races really existing in the boundless realms of space. This is to pursue no wild fantasy, but calmly to submit to the dictates of enlightened reason. Rather is his the fantasy, in God's sight, who would exalt man and the earth he tenants to supreme importance. Kindred, but far less grotesque, were a project for all men to declare by acclamation some invisible infusorial monad king of all the earth, for whose sole benefit was it made, for whom alone man lives.

It is by familiarity with the astronomer's magnificent discoveries and accurate methods that the mind gradually conceives of the universe as a fact, as a real, existing creation. Few, we fear, thus conceive of it; few see, in "the spacious firmament on high," more than did the Chaldee shepherd or the self-deluding astrologer. Yet is it not more certain that there was a Napoleon, than that the firmament contains all, and far more than all, the magnificence we have so faintly portrayed.

Thus far, it is hoped, no debatable ground has been touched. We now pass to the specific application of all which precedes, — the induction of Christ's nature, so far as may be, from the constitution of the universe. And, first, let us examine the belief most generally accepted, that he is a person of the Holy Trinity. We will take the first "article of

religion" of the Protestant Episcopal Church as a fair and authoritative exposition of the Trinitarian doctrine. It is as follows: — "There is but one living and true God, everlasting, without body, parts, or passions; of infinite power, wisdom, and goodness; the Maker and Preserver of all things, both visible and invisible. And in unity of this Godhead there be three persons, of one substance, power, and eternity: the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost."

Throughout the universe, so far as observation extends, the same physical laws are found to prevail, indicating one legislator, whom we call God. The Trinitarian doctrine divides this God into three equal persons, two of which persons exist solely in relation to man. Aside from the destinies of the human race, we can conceive of no special function of the second and third persons. If God be three persons, he must for ever have existed as such, or at some period of his existence he must have changed his nature. To suppose his *eternal* nature to have been fixed with sole reference to man, the veriest atom in his moral universe, is so abhorrent to reason, so derogatory to his greatness, that no one possessed of reason or reverence can for a moment entertain the thought. Nor can any one, comprehending man's subordinate position in creation, conceive that any emergency in his history would be a sufficient cause to the infinitely great Creator for a radical change of his own nature. If God be a Trinity, it must, therefore, be for other reasons than his relations to man. It may be said, that his relations to other races of beings are analogous to those he bears to us, so that the moral emergency requiring a Trinity everywhere exists. Has Christ, then, died on all the millions of worlds which people the limitless realms of space? God forgive the thought! It is too cruel to be harboured. Or did Christ die here once for all created beings? Not a word from his lips indicates any other mission than one for man's salvation. Apart from revelation, there are billions of chances against our world's being selected as the theatre on which to enact the tragedy of redemption for the universe. Hence would it require an almost infinite amount of evidence to prove that Christ's earthly mission concerned any other race than man. Thus, whichever way we turn, the Trinitarian doctrine forces us into an incongruity of the grossest kind. It constrains us to think of God as a being dependent in his whole nature on man, a creature of his creation, and whose importance in the

boundless realms he governs is but that of a grain of sand on the sea-shore !

In this connection, the Trinitarian doctrine may be viewed in another and more decisive light. This doctrine stands in direct opposition to the Unitarian belief. The one asserts the equal and essential Godship of three ; the other, that God the Father alone is the Omnipotent God, of whom Christ is a creature, subject to the disposition and government of his Creator. These doctrines, which cannot both be true at the same time, are both deduced from the same inspired sources, and sustained by reference to the same records. Men of equal Biblical learning, sagacity, and honesty of purpose are found among the believers and supporters of each. Hence it may be argued, that, to an impartial mind, the testimony of the Scriptures on the point at issue cannot be entirely decisive. A person truly unprejudiced would not, therefore, pronounce either doctrine inadmissible, except for some extraneous reason. Now suppose a mind perfectly free from all bias of education on this subject, perfectly honest, and only inquiring which doctrine is true. In want of positive proofs, it would naturally investigate the relative *a priori* probability of the two propositions, and adopt that which has the greater probability with a proportionate force of belief. As the balance of probabilities against the truth of a proposition prevails, it becomes more difficult of belief ; the more decided this preponderance becomes, the greater is this difficulty, and hence the more irresistible must be the testimony necessary to claim belief. When this predominance is infinite, the proposition becomes absolutely incredible.

To apply this. Suppose that this earth constituted the entire universe, and that both doctrines were then equally credible. Let another world, similarly constituted and inhabited, now be added, and how stands the case ? In the universe, as it is, analogous circumstances lead us to suppose analogous inhabitants in other worlds. On our hypothesis, the second world would stand in the same need of a Christ as our own, as also the third, the fourth, and so on to infinity. This supposition would require, then, an infinite number of Christs, unless God be unjustly partial to this earth, which is not supposable. That Jesus is successively dying in these countless worlds is an intolerable thought. But unless this be so, or God be unjust, there must be, on our hypothesis, as many analogues of Christ as there are worlds to be saved. These,

having all the same office, must all require the same nature; hence, if Christ be God in the Trinitarian sense, there must be an infinity of Gods in the same sense, which is positive contradiction. But in the Unitarian sense there may, without conflict, be as many analogues of Christ as there are worlds to be saved. Thus, on the hypothesis that the universe abounds in worlds and races like our own, the Trinitarian doctrine is entirely untenable, while the Unitarian remains unshaken. But this hypothesis has all the weight of analogies, general and minute, in favor of its truth; thus certainly inclining the balance of probabilities vastly in favor of the Unitarian doctrine.

The only remaining hypothesis is, that all the races inhabiting other worlds are above the need of a Saviour like Christ. Of course, we can know nothing positive in relation to the moral state of the inhabitants of other spheres; but we can show the vast improbability of the hypothesis in question. All worlds are subject to the same physical laws; hence we should infer the control of the same moral laws. Analogy of physical states renders probable like moral states. Hence, in our want of positive knowledge, we must suppose that the inhabitants of Mars are as likely to require a Saviour as man; the same of Venus, and so of the infinite multitude of worlds. Hence the hypothesis, that, contrary to all these probabilities, man alone requires a Saviour, is, *a priori*, exceedingly improbable. Again: if a pile contain a million white balls, and only one black one, the chance that a blind man in his first choice will select the black one is one against a million. So the chance, *a priori*, that you or I should be born into the only black-balled world in the universe is one against the whole number of other worlds, or infinitely small; yet here we are. Now the actual occurrence of an event of such vast hypothetical improbability throws the weight of that improbability on the hypothesis itself. Hence we may say, that to suppose our moral state entirely singular in the universe is to indulge a vastly improbable conjecture; so we must recur to our first hypothesis, and regard that as a highly probable fact. Its necessary consequence was, that Christ is not equal in exaltation to God the Father.

The previous reasonings lead to a conception of Christ's nature which has removed from our mind all the rational and Scriptural difficulties before encountered. Just as there are grades of magnitude in the physical universe, such as satel-

lites, planets, suns, nebulæ, etc., may there be grades of moral beings between us and God. Grade may rise above grade, with towering moral majesty, in an infinite progression, terminating at last in God, one and undivided, God the Father. Our conceptions become quickly confused and inadequate in this Godward struggle; the obscure of sublimity checks our lofty soarings. Long before we reach the infinite head of this progression we are overwhelmed by powers and attributes which to us are those of God.

There are those among our fellow-mortals so exalted by intellectual and moral greatness, that we feel in their presence a profound veneration. This feeling, in its most elevated and purified form, is that which so draws and binds the righteous soul to Christ and God. Divested of the infirmities of human nature, they claim, by reason of their own purity and greatness, the highest homage of man's veneration. Intermediate between us and God, in the ascending scale, but holy and glorious and *God-like* far beyond what our hearts have conceived or can conceive, we see Christ, ever living to judge us by the precepts and example of his own life on earth; God to us, far above our loftiest conceptions of God; yet not God truly, not God to Him who made and whose laws sustain all things. In the moral universe, he may have compeers or superiors; but to us he alone is God's immediate agent, and our Mediator through whom to approach, in prayerful thought, the Omnipotent Jehovah. The guardian angel of this bright and beautiful world, we see him presiding over man's destinies; now striving, by becoming a sojourner with man, to exalt his moral nature; leaving precepts and an example which shall render each faithful follower so pure, so beautiful, that when death presents his gleanings to Christ the judge, he may bear them to some happy home among his Father's many mansions. E. B. H—t.

Art. III. — LEAGUE OF UNIVERSAL BROTHERHOOD.*

The movement to which we now call the attention of our readers is, perhaps, unknown to many of them, and probably comparatively few have given it serious attention. It does not come within the pale of party politics, and the newspapers of the day are silent about it; it enters not the field of theological controversy, and the pulpit and the religious press announce it not; but the Pledge on which the League is founded has been signed by about thirty thousand persons in the British islands and America, and has thus acquired an importance not to be overlooked. Viewing its past rate of progress, therefore, we only anticipate a public interest in it, which must ere long be felt. It claims, also, to be considered a religious movement, whose principles are founded on the Gospel, and hence is entitled to notice in our pages.

Presuming our readers have but little information on this subject, we think it not amiss to give a brief statement of the origin and operations of this philanthropic combination. The name of Elihu Burritt, or, as he has been called, the Learned Blacksmith, is famous. He acquired celebrity by the acquisition of over thirty languages while working at the anvil, and in this character of a linguist he is yet chiefly known to the political and literary public. But his future eminence will rest on a higher aspiration, for which he has, in a great measure, deserted the dictionary and the grammar. A lecture delivered by him in Boston, in June, 1843, exposing the folly of preparation for war, attracted the attention of the friends of peace in that city, who immediately engaged him in their cause, to which he has since been principally devoted. He became a member of the Executive Committee of the American Peace Society; edited the "Advocate of Peace" for 1846; issued from Worcester, his place of residence, a multitude of small papers, extensively republished, under the titles of "Olive Leaves" and "Bonds of Brotherhood"; and is still the chief editor of the "Christian Citizen," published at Worcester, the only weekly paper devoted principally to the cause of peace.

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* *First Quarterly Report of the Corresponding Secretary of the British Branch of the League of Universal Brotherhood.* Read by Elihu Burritt at the Meeting of League Delegates at the White Hart, Bishopsgate-Street-Without, London, October 13th, 1847. *Christian Citizen, Worcester, Mass.*, 1847, *Nos.* 49 - 52.

In the summer of 1846 he departed for England; and there, in concurrence with those friends who sympathized with him, formed the "League of Universal Brotherhood," of which he was appointed Secretary; and we now give from the Report his own account of its commencement, and the introduction of the Pledge. Our first extract shows the conception of the plan.

"The plan of a League of Universal Brotherhood, then, was suggested by the inception and issue of the Friendly International Addresses interchanged between the people of England and the people of the United States during the Oregon controversy. Your Secretary, *pro tem.*, who had the happiness to procure a wide publicity for these Addresses in the United States, embarked for England on the 16th of June, 1846, in the very packet which brought to this country the news of the amicable settlement of the question referred to. As an humble member of an active Peace band in America, it was the chief object of his errand to propose to the friends of Peace on this side of the Atlantic an expansion, or a new application, of the principle involved in the Friendly International Addresses; or, in other words, to associate *permanently* the friends of humanity in both hemispheres, for the prevention of all dangerous international controversies; to propose an international organization upon one integral platform, which should not only embrace the whole basis of the Peace Society, but that of the Antislavery Society, and of every other association for the elevation of man and the equalization of human happiness."

A little farther on we have the origin of the Pledge.

"On the evening of the 29th of July, the pledge received its first signatures in Pershore, a small town in Worcestershire. Here, on his way to London, whither he was travelling on foot, your Secretary accidentally met a company of twenty individuals in a private room, to whom he presented the pledge in its original and manuscript form. After a discussion of its principles, which lasted from six o'clock until nearly midnight, in which every person present took a part, seventeen of the number present attached their names to the covenant of brotherhood, with a full and serious sense of the responsibility of the transaction, which was manifested in a season of religious devotion, with which the company separated."

Still farther on we find its confirmation by the sanction of some names which, we trust, are familiar to our readers.

"On the evening of the 6th of August, at a meeting of the

Delegates to the World's Temperance Convention, held in the Freemason's Hall, London, Joseph Sturge introduced the proposition of a League of Universal Brotherhood, and read the Pledge. Your Secretary followed him with an exposition of the principles and objects of the Association, and about sixty gentlemen, from different parts of the kingdom, together with several of the Delegates from America, enrolled their names as members on that occasion. Among these were Dr. Campbell, editor of the Christian Witness; James Silk Buckingham and John Bell, of London; Joseph Sturge, of Birmingham; Lawrence Heyworth, Liverpool; Samuel Bowley, Gloucester; Robert Charlton and Joseph Eaton, of Bristol; Robert W. Fox, Exeter; Jonathan Priestman, Newcastle-on-Tyne, and others of like standing in England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland."

The Report then proceeds to detail at length the subsequent journeys, meetings, lectures, etc., by which the Pledge was more extensively recommended, and numerous signatures obtained to it, and the formation of local League Societies, which were afterwards united in concert with a central one. The account of the formation of this central organization is thus stated in the Report.

"In the 'Bond of Brotherhood' for July, a Conference of Delegates from the different League Societies was invited to be held on the 13th of that month, for the purpose of considering the plan and propriety of organizing the British Branch of the League. In accordance with this invitation, about forty persons, mostly representing different local Branches, assembled in the Hall of the White Hart, Bishopsgate-Without, on the evening of the above-mentioned day.

"Joseph Sturge, Esq., was called to the chair, and opened the proceedings of the meeting with a short speech, commending the objects for which it was called. Elihu Burritt read a report, embracing an exposition of the principles, spirit, and objects of the Association, and facts relating to its progress in England and America. In conclusion, he submitted the following suggestions: —

"1. That, as the different representatives of the local Leagues in Great Britain, we now assume a national organization, by the election of a President, two Vice-Presidents, a Corresponding Secretary, a Recording Secretary, a Treasurer, and a Standing Committee of twelve, all constituting an Executive Board for the general supervision of the British League.

"2. That the Quarterly Meetings of Secretaries and Delegates of all the local Leagues in Great Britain be held in London, for the purpose of hearing reports, and considering plans for future operations, both at home and abroad.

"3. That each Quarterly Report, together with extracts from communications from different countries, relating to the movement, be published in a periodical not exceeding sixteen pages, royal 8vo, entitled 'The League of Universal Brotherhood'; and which shall be furnished to the Secretary and any other members of any local League in the British dominions, and in America, or wherever the English language is spoken, at a price not exceeding 3*d.* per number or one English shilling *per annum.*

"4. That Great Britain be divided into twelve districts, each assigned to a member of the Standing Committee residing therein, who shall provide for the holding of a public League meeting once a year in said district, which delegates from all the League Branches therein shall be invited to attend. That these district meetings shall be held in rotation, so that, while they are annual to the several districts, they shall be monthly to the nation.

"After a rather lengthened discussion, these resolutions were passed by the Convention."

Near the close of the Report, an account is given of operations for the extension of the League to the continent of Europe, in many places of which it has been favorably received.

In the mean time, the Pledge had been sent by the indefatigable Secretary to the United States, and has here received a great number of signatures. A convention of the signers, and all persons friendly to the object, was held in Boston on the 26th and 27th of May, 1847, which organized a general American Branch of the League, and appointed officers in like manner to that of the English.

The only, but an indispensable, condition of membership to this League is signature to the Pledge, which, of course, embodies in a condensed form all the essential principles of this great association, and is in these words: —

"Pledge. — Believing all war to be inconsistent with the spirit of Christianity, and destructive of the best interests of mankind, I do hereby pledge myself never to enlist or enter any army or navy, or to yield any *voluntary* support or sanction to the preparation for or prosecution of any war, by whomsoever or for whatsoever proposed, declared, or waged. And I do hereby associate myself with all persons, of whatever country, condition, or color, who have signed, or shall hereafter sign, this pledge, in a 'League of Universal Brotherhood,' whose object shall be to employ all legitimate and moral means for the abolition of all war, and all the spirit and all the manifestations of war, through-

out the world; for the abolition of all restrictions upon international correspondence and friendly intercourse, and of whatever else tends to make enemies of nations, or prevent their fusion into one peaceful brotherhood; for the abolition of all institutions and customs which do not recognize and respect the image of God and a human brother in every man, of whatever clime, color, or condition of humanity."

This instrument, it will be seen, has two distinguishable parts. First, the "pledge" proper, designed to diminish and ultimately abolish war by the simple process of refusing to aid or support it, — in obedience to a sentiment now very prevalent in England; and the pledge form is avowedly taken from the Temperance "Pledge," and, like that, is designed to fortify the resolution of the signers. In the second part, it quits the language of a pledge, and becomes only a declarative agreement of association with others in a "League of Universal Brotherhood," for the abolition of the restrictions, etc., which it designates; and the idea of this part was probably taken from the great Anti-Corn-Law League, through which the popular voice had accomplished such a triumphant revolution in Great Britain. It contemplates a similar success by a similar association.

No doubt can be entertained of the efficacy, in putting an end to war, of a general refusal, by the people of civilized nations, to engage in military operations. War could not be carried on without the voluntary instrumentality of the soldier, and were the people of the nations at large resolutely disposed to such a refusal, the arm of despotism would be paralyzed, and we should have the easiest, most direct, and safest method of accomplishing the desired pacification of the world. But, unhappily, in despotic countries, the people dare not venture on such an opposition, and in those having freer constitutions, the mass of the people, proudly identifying themselves with the imagined glory of their country, and deluded by the exciting language of their statesmen and orators, are often rather the instigators than the opposers of war. These martial dispositions are undergoing a very perceptible change. The formidable number of signatures attached to this Pledge is no small evidence of a great advance of pacific sentiment in the public mind; though it is by no means a proof that this sentiment is deeply laid or well defined; for the language of the Pledge is captivating from the high tone of its philanthropy, and its accordance with the

precepts of Christ, and hence is thoughtlessly acceded to by religious and benevolent minds, who may yet not fully comprehend the extent of its obligations, or foresee the sacrifices which may be required to maintain their resolution.

We cannot, in the space at our command, make all the comments we should desire on that part of this instrument which announces a junction in the League; for it embraces a variety of objects, which, though linked by fundamental analogy, are yet distinct in their nature, and are to be judged by different considerations. But the great principle of human brotherhood, which underlies the whole, must, we think, impress every Christian heart with its sublime sentiment of holiness and beauty. However undiscerned in the past, it is the true teaching of expansive Christianity to the awakened perceptions of the present age. It results directly from the doctrine of the paternity of God; for if he is truly the Father of the human race, they are as truly an unbounded brotherhood; and if the expression "Our Father" was only used by our Lord to signify a relation held by those who have imbibed his spirit, then those who profess to cherish this spirit are connected by a closer tie of fraternal affection. Carrying this view of human brotherhood along with its promulgation, its evident tendency is to soften all those asperities of temper which check a kind beneficence, and to subdue all those selfish and malignant impulses which lead to violence and war. A nation impressed with the idea of the brotherhood of man would be a realm of benevolence, instead of conflicting interests, in which every moral corruption and oppression would disappear; and it would be ready to make such sacrifices for peace as would insure its endless continuance.

It is much to be regretted that this delightful and sublime conception has not been presented to the world in a shape suited to its character. The imposition of an unvarying form of pledge as a condition of membership of the League is, in the outset, a violation of an essential principle exhibited by it. According to its own declaration, the Pledge is not to form a society of such persons only as are willing to bind themselves by it, — like the creed of an exclusive church, — but it is to embrace all mankind in its sympathies, for its "brotherhood" is declared to be "universal." To refuse, therefore, to persons who cannot sign this particular form, the character of members of the League, is to deny their brother-

hood; and this precludes its universality, unless every person in the world should sign it, which is not to be expected. Even those persons who are most fully in sympathy with the fundamental principles and objects of the League, and of course in spirit already united in fraternity with it, are virtually disowned by its conductors, if any conscientious scruple against either of the various provisions of the Pledge prevents them from signing it, and are thus excluded from any authorized coöperation in this great philanthropic enterprise.

By a strange disregard of the varying opinions and feelings of human minds, it seems to have been supposed that no one who was in cordial sympathy with the objects of the Pledge could consistently refuse to avow it by his signature; but various cogent objections are made to this instrument in its present form, by some of the most sincere admirers of its great principle of pacific brotherhood. Some object to the "Pledge" as *a pledge*, considering it identical in character with an oath, and so forbidden by Christ, or thinking that frail human beings have no right to give a solemn obligation in regard to their future moral conduct. Others dissent from the clause respecting international restrictions, considering the question one of mere political economy, with their views of which the Pledge does not accord. Some, again, revolt at the undistinguishing level apparently assigned to all classes of men, as subversive of social order; and many, of the most cautious benevolence, are alarmed at a proposal to abolish institutions and customs indistinctly designated and variously understood, which may commit them to hostility against those they most cherish or revere. A required pledge, therefore, containing so many disputable obligations, must exclude many more of the friends of human brotherhood than it can ever unite, among whom will be some of the most ardent advocates of that sacred relation.

The pledge form was avowedly adopted in imitation of the Temperance Pledge, which had been found so effectual in advancing a needed and arduous reform. It was supposed that the potency of a pledge in the one case would be equally manifest in the other. But the originators of the Pledge of Brotherhood overlooked the consideration, that the motive power of achievement in the Pledge of Temperance is inapplicable to the case of Brotherhood. The Temperance Pledge operated to support and strengthen a faltering resolution at the moment of temptation. Its purpose was to bring

to the aid of prudential and moral considerations, in that crisis of conflict, the coercive terror of a broken vow; to repel the pressure of appetite and the appeal of inclination by the pride of loyalty to a voluntary bond. There is a trial of self-denial in which the whole power of the propensity stands in opposition to the contract. But in the case of abstinence from war and military service the restrictive resolution is in perfect coincidence with the disposition of the mind; for such service is an object of dread, and not of desire; and a man must have come to an abhorrence of war and all preparations for it, before he will consent to give his pledge against it; and that abhorrence affords him all the resolution of abstinence he requires, to which a pledge cannot add a particle of power, for he has no opposing propensity to overcome.

We have stated these objections to the requisition of this Pledge of Brotherhood, not because we would in the least obstruct the advance of its principles; but, on the contrary, because we fear that its present form, with the inherent objections to it, will of itself prove a great obstacle to the progress of those principles. We confess our deep regret, that so philanthropic an object should be confined by shackles so incongruous with its expansive nature. We see not why the most harmonious concert of action, and even the most rigid organization, could not be maintained without a written contract, in an association so benevolent, so endearing, so all-embracing as this. But if the idea of universality be abandoned, and some written recognition be necessary to designate distinctively the "Brethren," any form, however varied, to accommodate differing scruples, might be accepted, if it embodied the fundamental principles of the League. We think we perceive that, without some such liberal change, the progress of the League, however promising now, will soon decline, and come to its ultimate and insufficient limit; and that the sympathies of the benevolent who cannot accept it will be locked up in their former apathy, or will compel them to adopt a distinct and rival mode of action. But we are not without hope that such considerations as we have offered may have their due weight with the members of the League, and that no injudicious pertinacity will prevent their principles from securing free and rapid course through the civilized world. An enlightened liberality in the removal of unjust and injurious exclusiveness is reasonably to be expected

from the gifted author of this Pledge, and his noble-spirited coadjutors.

Should this just and reasonable measure be adopted, the institution of the League appears to us to have a claim on the heart of every lover of peace and humanity. We think that favor towards it, and even aid in its promotion, cannot be denied by any loyal follower of Christ, who considers it incumbent on him to contribute to the advancement of the pure principles of his religion, and who perceives in those principles the essential elements of love and beneficence towards mankind. Admitting human brotherhood to be an express doctrine of the Gospel, and recognizing the consequent duty of treating fellow-men as brethren, every variety of opinion respecting the extent or nature of this brotherhood may be merged in its general principle, and a unity of action be attained, which cannot be expected from any more definite or restricted interpretation.

If, however, this restrictive policy shall be maintained by the government of the League, that institution will yet have its use, and a highly important one, and it is to this we would especially call the attention of our Christian friends. It resuscitates an explicit and essential doctrine of the Gospel from the torpor in which it has lain through ages of mercenary, martial, and tyrannical corruptions, and exhibits it anew to the admiration and reception of a more philanthropic age; and thus it calls on every faithful follower of Christ, not only to welcome its benign results with joy, but to give his ardent and steady efforts to promote them. Christians who perceive the truth and loveliness of the principle of human brotherhood are, by this manifestation of it, invited to join in a concert of action, such as all agree that it demands, undisturbed by conflicting explanations or revolting restrictions.

We are not sanguine, however, that the removal of the Pledge alone, or a new Association of Brotherhood without it, would attract an immediate and large accession of coöperators in the object. We are aware that there is much hesitation in the minds of the most sincere philanthropists in regard to founding their benevolence, or their opposition to war, on the vague sentiment of "human brotherhood," until the purport of that phrase is more precisely understood. The word "universal," adopted by the League, still further perplexes the subject, for, until it is known in what sense "brotherhood" is to be taken, it cannot be seen whether it

is or can be universal; and the members, and even leaders, of the League differ in their interpretation of the expression. It seems necessary, therefore, to set this matter in a clearer light.

The term "universal" was placed in the Pledge to denote the brotherhood of all the human race, in virtue of a common nature, and as derived from a common origin; and by a cursory glance at the declaration of St. Paul, that "God hath made of one blood all nations," he is supposed to authorize this view, although more careful attention to the context may show that he made it for a different purpose; and it is not certain, as we conceive, that our Lord intended the expressions, "Our Father," and "All ye are brethren," to have reference to any but those who believed in or sympathized with him. We have seen that even the originators of the League, who have adopted the word "universal," have yet virtually disowned this universality, in the exclusive requisition of the Pledge; and we suppose that many of the most benevolent Christians are not yet prepared to acknowledge a fraternal relation to all men of all characters; especially to those whose deep corruptions and vices are disgracing human nature, and spreading misery and depravity on the earth. The religious philosophy which claims for the worst of men a spark of the Divine nature is but partially received, and, if insisted on, will exclude from participation in the enterprise some of the best friends of humanity, whose coöperation is most desirable.

An attentive examination of the New Testament in reference to this question will show that the expressions denoting the paternity of God and the fraternity of men are most generally used in a restricted sense, either as applied to particular generations, or, more commonly, to the believers in Christ only. There is only one passage in which God is directly said to be the Father of all men (Ephesians iv. 6). Present universality of human brotherhood is a doctrine which cannot be safely urged on the authority of the Christian Scriptures; nor on the ground of the common animal nature of mankind, which offers too low a basis for so elevated a conception; and if we consider all men as children of God in their spiritual nature, as he is said to be "the Father of spirits," we are repelled from this view by the denunciation bestowed by Christ on those he called "children of the Devil," and the consideration of the deep malignity of spirit often manifested by the destroyers and corrupters of our race. Yet

we resign this interpretation with great reluctance, for it is congenial with the most expansive charity of the human heart, and affords the strongest impulse to universal beneficence. We must fall back on a brotherhood which, though yet limited in extent, rests, like that of the earliest Christian Church, on a common inspiration from the Father of lights, a fraternal sympathy in a common regeneration. Yet we rejoice in that faith which allies us to the Divine nature; we would look forward with the eye of hope to the time when "at the name of Jesus every knee shall bow" in fraternal reverence; and we would earnestly diffuse that revelation of love which shall hereafter unite men and angels in a brotherhood that shall be indeed universal.

And what Christian heart will not leap to be associated in a brotherhood like this? Let not the Christian say that he is already affiliated to God by inward piety, and united to all his true children by religious sympathy, and that no external manifestation is needed to indicate such relations. Open concert is requisite, both for the encouragement and the increase of this assimilation. It is not enough that a despotic hierarchy has gathered multitudes under a system of mysterious ceremony. It is not enough that separate churches cherish exclusive organizations, which can never distinguish the cordial from the heartless professor. It is not enough that institutions and societies, of the religious and the worldly combined, exist for the removal of specific evils; these have, indeed, dimly illuminated the misty atmosphere of the past, but the dawn of a brighter day is now visibly at hand. "Let there be light!" is the renewed command of God, and his spirit again moves on the deep waters of human corruption. It points to a combination of Christian philanthropists, purer, freer, more extensive, and more energetic than the deluded and turbulent world has ever seen.

The true principle on which such an association should be based is that of love. "By this," says our Lord, "shall all know that ye are my disciples, if ye have love one to another"; and the surest test of this Christian love is the renunciation of the spirit and of every form of war, private or national. "Blessed are the peacemakers," says Jesus, "for they shall be called the children of God." If children of God, they are brethren of each other by the fraternal bond of love. This is the true foundation on which the vast edifice of human brotherhood is to be erected; and just so

deeply as this delightful principle is cherished, will "the peace of God which passeth all understanding" dwell in every heart; and just so far as it is extended through the world, will every hostile action cease, till swords shall be beaten into ploughshares, and nations shall not learn war any more.

J. P. B.

Art. IV. — JONATHAN EDWARDS.*

We took occasion recently in the pages of this journal to treat of the father of Methodism, and of the revolution wrought by him in the religion of England. We now turn homeward, to speak of a contemporary of Wesley, of equal influence in his own sphere, and of far higher rank in the kingdom of ideas. It was, as we have seen, in the month of roses, 1703, that the rectory of Epworth heard a new voice, and John Wesley first saw the light. That same year, and, as more fitting, in the month of the sere and yellow leaf, the more grave and pensive October, the Puritan parsonage of East Windsor, Connecticut, that already — frequent blessing of the clerical home — heard the prattle of four little girls, rejoiced for the first time in a son. This son became the most noted theologian of his country. The metaphysician of Calvinism, he has been as much the father of a method of thought, as the Arminian disciplinarian has been of a method of action.

To understand the career of the great Calvinist and his associates and antagonists, we must glance at the condition of New England at the opening of the last century. The state of religion here then resembled much its state in the mother country when Wesley came upon the stage. The fire of the old contest between Puritan and Churchman had been dying out. By the Revolution of 1688 new principles of toleration were incorporated into the British policy, which showed themselves in the old country by softening the former animosity between the Dissenters and the Establishment, and which

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* 1. *The Works of* Jonathan Edwards, A. M. *With an Essay on his Genius and Writings*, by Henry Rogers; *and a Memoir*, by Sereno E. Dwight. London. 1839. 2 vols. pp. cclxxvi., 691, 969.

2. *Seasonable Thoughts on the State of Religion in New England. A Treatise in Five Parts. With a Preface.* By Charles Chauncy, D. D., Pastor of the First Church of Christ in Boston. Boston. 1743. pp. 424.

changed the face of things here, by taking from the Puritan Church its control over the State, and bringing forward a somewhat liberal party in the ranks of Congregationalism. The weight of the liberal party was proved by the foundation of Brattle Street church, in Boston, in 1698, and, nine years afterward, by the election of one of its founders, John Leverett, to the presidency of Harvard College, in spite of the violent opposition of the Mathers. In this movement, a spirit came to light which had long covertly existed, and which without doubt had some representatives in the cabins of the Mayflower and Arbella. Thus, at the very beginning of the last century, Harvard College showed something of the liberal tendency that has since stamped its history; and the rise of Yale College at that time, under the auspices of the more rigid class, and with some feeling of opposition to Harvard, gave intimation of those conflicts of opinion that have agitated New England to the present day. We do not say that there was any thing of the doctrinal antagonism that has since been so conspicuous. The Liberalism of that day was rather a spirit than a doctrine, — a spirit of resistance to ecclesiastical despotism, and of regard for the right of private judgment and congregational independence.

It was obviously an important crisis in affairs, — a season of decay as well as renovation. Much indifference prevailed among Christian people. Men were not very willing to accept theology, as before, upon the basis of Puritan authority. The claims of religion must be examined, its doctrines proved, and, while the leading divines of Europe were striving to defend Christianity from assault, and legitimate its claims by reason and scholarship, the mind of New England in a measure felt the same want, and demanded strong thinkers to meet the craving for more light. When thus called for, men always come. Strong thinkers appeared. Verily, there were giants in those days.

Harvard and Yale sent each its strong man, each man to be captain of a host.

In the year 1720, the order of performance at the New Haven Commencement bore upon its list of graduates the name of Jonathan Edwards. Few, if any, of the goodly company at that ancient Commencement, as they listened to the oration of that youth of seventeen, had any very clear intimation of his destiny. The fathers and mothers, the youths and maidens, looked upon him, doubtless, with inter-

est, as the first scholar in his class ; the elders of the church hoped well of him, as they noted his serious spirit, and remembered the stanch faith of his father, the venerable minister of East Windsor. His classmates might have thought him a little stiff and reserved, even for those days, but could not help respecting the youth who had distanced them all in scholarship, and who at fourteen had read Locke with more pleasure than " the miser finds in handfuls of silver and gold from some newly discovered treasure."

One year afterwards, the town of Boston and its vicinity sent forth its wisdom and beauty and strength to the village of Cambridge, and among the class of thirty-seven members at that Commencement, none was regarded with more honor than Charles Chauncy, a youth not yet seventeen, who bore a distinguished part in the services of the day.

These youths became the religious leaders of their time. Edwards and Chauncy are the representative men of New England theology in the eighteenth century. Of them we are to treat, — of Edwards principally, and Chauncy incidentally. They represent tendencies that have always existed in Christendom. In their own time, and under the New England garb, they illustrate diversities of creed and temper, that have ever shown themselves in the world, from the days of Tertullian and Origen, Augustine and Pelagius, to those of Calvin and Arminius, Chalmers and Channing.

Did our limits permit, we might find instruction in portraying the chief scenes in Edwards's course of preparation for this great work. We might dwell upon his infancy and boyhood in the parsonage of East Windsor, — trace his career through College, and describe the years during which he was fitting himself for the ministry, which were passed partly in theological studies and partly in the duties of a tutorship at New Haven. But, having to deal with a man who lived and ruled in the region of ideas, we may well spare sketches of scenes and events, and speak of the chief elements which during his preparatory period combined to make him what he became.

The first element which determined his destiny undoubtedly was the creed in which he was educated, especially the characteristic feature of that creed, — the sovereignty of God, and his acknowledged right, purely of his own will and without respect to human desert, to elect to heaven or doom to hell the souls of men. This doctrine he heard preached

by his father, even from his boyhood. As a boy he thought it a horrible belief, and struggled against it earnestly, as he himself declares. But afterwards he found himself convinced of its truth, and, as he says, without ever being able to give any satisfactory account of the means or manner of the conviction.

The second element consisted in his strong religious sensibility, which showed itself from early childhood, alike in the fervor and frequency of private prayer, and in the little meetings which he with a few other boys conducted, in a rude booth built by them in a retired spot, which to this day is pointed out as hallowed ground. Thus his expanding heart opened to the religious influences around him, and he stands, with Pascal and Leighton, amongst those who have accepted the dogma of elective sovereignty without that desperate struggle with early lusts that led Augustine, Luther, and Bunyan to disparage human will.

The third element which we notice was his singular, perhaps unsurpassed, power of abstraction, his passion for meditating upon the causes of things, and his faculty of tracing causes to consequences by deductive processes of adamantine strength. We shall speak of this tendency more at large when we come to treat of his works.

These elements had all exhibited themselves as early, at least, as his nineteenth year. When at this age he went to preach at New York, and delighted to roam along the beautiful banks of the Hudson, as he assures us he often did, for contemplation on Divine things, and for secret converse with God, he undoubtedly employed in the "sweet hours" there all the resources of his nature, education, and experience. He had learned to see the sovereign God in all things; in his views of nature and religion, he had manifested the sensibility of the poet, as well as the fervor of the devotee. His searching mind had already investigated the foundations of faith and knowledge, and struggled at once for a science of matter and spirit, creation and the Creator. He says that for some time previously his mind had been almost perpetually in the contemplation of Divine things. "I spent most of my time in thinking of Divine things from year to year, often walking alone in the woods and solitary places for meditation, soliloquy, and prayer, and converse with God; and it was always my manner to sing forth my contemplation. I was almost constantly in ejaculatory prayer, wherever I was."

Again, speaking of his stay at New York, he says, that holiness "made the soul like a field or garden of God, with all manner of pleasant flowers; enjoying a sweet calm, and the gently vivifying beams of the sun. The soul of a true Christian, as I then wrote my meditations, appeared like such a little white flower as we see in the spring of the year; low and humble on the ground, opening its bosom to receive the beams of the sun's glory, rejoicing, as it were, in a calm rapture; diffusing around a sweet fragrancy; standing peacefully and lovingly in the midst of other flowers round about, all in like manner opening their beams to the sun."

What is to become of this enraptured wanderer on the banks of the Hudson, so absorbed in visions of God and contemplations of creation? Is he to be poet, dreamer, theorist, recluse, — what? In this world of stern reality is there any work for him to do, or is he to go through life by himself, more wondered at than admired, and giving friends and observers cause for querying whether he had not been sent to the wrong planet, or stumbled upon the wrong age? The fact must be our reply.

Go to the beautiful town of Northampton, Massachusetts, and the question is at once solved. Let the date be any year between 1727 and 1750. We select the winter of 1735. The Connecticut is bridged over with ice; Holyoke and its twin mount are covered with snow. The Sabbath bell rings out solemnly, yet cheerfully, upon the clear air of the winter morning. The village church, cold, and no marvel of architectural proportion, soon becomes the centre of concourse. In Puritan decorum, in sleighs, on horseback, on foot, the villagers wend their way through the snow, and take their seats in the square, high-backed pews. The minister, a man of thirty-two, attended by a lady seven years younger than himself, in whose face rare beauty is blended with a singularly spiritual expression, walks up the aisle, and, after opening for his companion the door of the pastor's pew, ascends the pulpit. After prayer and hymn, he stands up to preach. His appearance does not at first promise much. He is tall and thin, without any grace of manner, attraction of person, compass or music of voice. He holds his manuscript in his hand, and reads it through without a single gesture or movement of the head. But mark the power which he exercises as he goes on. There is no startling change in his address, but, as thought after thought is presented with such iron

strength and such piercing point, every breath is hushed; tears and every mark of contrition pervade the assembly. The text is from Romans iii. 19: — "That every mouth may be stopped." The subject is "The Justice of God in the Damnation of Sinners." The sermon is terrific. After its two points of introduction, and five of doctrine, comes the application, with its more than twenty points, down upon the devoted heads of the hearers, like forked lightnings from a single cloud. All classes feel its force. The hard man of business begins to think of his ways, to loathe his own worldliness, and apprehend with horror his destiny. The gayest daughter in the parish, flaunting in all the allowable pride of that austere time, repents of her vanity, sees little to admire in her attire, and yearns for the pearl that is of too great price to be bought. A great awakening follows, and the year 1735 makes a date in the theological calendar of New England.

Edwards, for he is the preacher, had then been at Northampton eight years, having been settled there the year of Chauncy's settlement in Boston, 1727. The fame of his labors went out into all the churches of the land, and the fire kindled by him reached many neighbouring places, and similar scenes appeared. Northampton soon became a classic spot, — a very Mecca or Jerusalem to the pilgrims of Puritanism. Still, its fame was not yet complete.

In the autumn of 1740, the noted Whitefield, the early friend and helper of Wesley, first came to New England. Landing at Newport, he visited Boston, and preached in the principal churches of the town. Soon after, in the month of October, he started for the scene of the revival of 1735. When he and Edwards went into that Puritan pulpit together, it required no great depth of perception to recognize a singular contrast in the two men. They were as different in mind and manner as in looks. The thought-worn theologian, and the brilliant, imposing declaimer, — the one dealing in chains of argument that no logician could break asunder, the other abounding in pathetic exhortations, high-wrought figures, melting cadences, which no logician could resist, and which, whilst they had made a Garrick marvel, moved Edwards to weep. No wonder that he wept, and the whole congregation were refreshed by Whitefield's visit. It must have been a great relief to them to listen to his eloquent appeals to the heart, after having their minds so constantly on

the stretch in attempting to follow the profound deductions of their own minister, penetrating the deeps of the soul and the Godhead from Sabbath to Sabbath. Edwards, however, much as he felt the pathos of Whitefield's preaching, saw his dangers, and advised him to beware of trusting so much to mere emotion, and of presuming to judge so unhesitatingly of the piety of other persons, — advice which Whitefield took more in word than deed, else he might have shunned the rock on which he split, escaped the name of an uncharitable censor, and the suspicion of confounding the pulpit with the stage. After this friendly lecture, he never seems to have liked Edwards very well; at least, was never very studious of his company.

Rekindled by Whitefield's visits, the awakening in New England, which had for some years subsided, reappeared, and 1740 makes the date of centennial commemoration among our Orthodox Congregationalists, as it does also among the followers of Wesley. Arminianism in England and Calvinism here had their Pentecost at the same time. We are ready to believe that not a little of the true fire came down from heaven in both cases.

But Edwards, however superior to Wesley as a metaphysician, was far inferior to him as a pastoral guide, and knew not, like the great Methodist, how to tend the fire already kindled. As his opinions were consolidated into a system, he wielded them with increased force, and seemed to speak to men as an ambassador from the other world. His famous Sermon on "Sinners in the Hands of an Angry God" is a good specimen of his peculiar power. No one who reads it can wonder at its singular effect. He delivered it at Enfield, Conn., in 1741, at a time when the congregation there were expecting to hear a foreign preacher. They were disappointed in this expectation, and not at all propitiated by seeing the unpromising substitute for the stranger, as he entered the pulpit and began the service in his usual monotonous way. But soon the feeling changed, and the eyes that had been lowered in displeasure or shut in indifference began to gaze upon the preacher with intense interest. Ere long, some of the audience rose to their feet, and in the end the whole congregation stood up, as if drawn toward the orator by some terrible fascination. The house of worship became a scene of fearful commotion, — such being the distress and weeping, that he was obliged to desire silence, that

he might be heard. The sermon is enough to make a man of our milder creed shudder. No wonder that it so affected that audience of so austere doctrine. After a close and pointed statement of doctrine in ten points, he urges its application in a manner of which this is a fair specimen : —

" There is nothing between you and hell but the air; it is only the power and mere pleasure of God that holds you up. Your wickedness makes you heavy as lead, and to tend downwards with great weight and pressure towards hell; and if God should let you go, you would immediately sink and descend into the bottomless gulf; and your healthy constitution, and your own care and prudence and best contrivance, and all your righteousness, would have no more influence to uphold you and keep you out of hell, than a spider's web would have to stop a falling rock. . . . . The bow of God's wrath is bent, and the arrow made ready on the string, and justice bends the arrow at your heart, and strains the bow, and it is nothing but the mere pleasure of God, and that of an angry God, without any promise or obligation at all, that keeps the arrow one moment from being drunk with your blood. . . . . The God that holds you over the pit of hell, much as one holds a spider or some loathsome insect over the fire, abhors you, and is dreadfully provoked; his wrath towards you burns like fire; he looks upon you as worthy of nothing else but to be cast into the fire; he is of purer eyes than to bear to have you in his sight; you are ten thousand times more abominable in his eyes than the most hateful, venomous serpent is in ours." — *Works*, Vol. II., pp. 7 *et seq.*

On another occasion, as he was preaching in the pulpit of a brother minister, this brother is said to have forgotten himself so far, as to pull the preacher by the coat, and to stop the terrific sermon by the question, — " Mr. Edwards, Mr. Edwards ! Is not God a merciful being ? is he not merciful ? "

To keep the state of feeling at the pitch to which such a style of preaching carried it was hardly in man's power, nor could it be safely moderated into its permanent level without the most judicious superintendence. Here Edwards failed. He had, indeed, too deep a mind to regard nervous excitement or vehement emotion as proof of religion. His chief danger came from want of sympathy with the common feelings of men, and knowledge of the means of permanent influence over them. In 1744, he sorely offended the young people of his parish, and, through them, many of their par-

ents, by well-meant but unwise attempts to suppress some objectionable practices; and five years afterwards he lost the good graces of most of the parish by that measure, so noted and so consistent, the proposition to reëstablish the old Puritan rule, for a long time abandoned under the ministry of Stoddard, of requiring from each candidate for the communion, not merely a profession of faith and evidence of good personal character, but also such testimonials of religious experience as should satisfy the committee of the church that conversion had taken place, and evidence been given of a regenerate heart. He would thus, of course, regard the Lord's Supper, not, as it has been regarded by the great mass of Christians, as a means of grace, so much as a seal of salvation. Trouble was the consequence, and separation the final result. Customs that are connected with hallowed associations, and founded in feelings so justifiable as those which moved Stoddard to enlarge the door of communion, could not easily be set aside by argument, however close and weighty. We are not to suppose that the chief obstacle was by any means on the side of the worldly, who sought the Lord's table without due seriousness. There is a sentiment of delicacy and dignity in a large number of truly spiritually-minded persons that leads them to shrink from exposing their secret thoughts, much more from submitting their spiritual experience to the judgment of a church committee.

Now is the time for Edwards to prove his true character. In great affliction, feeble health, and stinted fortune, he chose to state an unpopular doctrine, but one connected with his whole system. Is he willing to abide the consequences? He is willing. He left his cherished home in the loveliest town of New England, and accepted a call to perform missionary duty among the Indians of the vicinity. What a position was his at Stockbridge for the strongest reasoner, if not the deepest thinker, in the land! A theologian great as Calvin, a logician not inferior to Spinoza, thus become the minister to savages, whose comprehension of sacred truth hardly equalled that of children! He turned trial into triumph. His genius towered up as never before among the mountains of Berkshire. In this his comparative seclusion, he devoted himself to study and meditation. Works such as those on "The Freedom of the Will," "The End of Creation," "The Nature of Virtue," "Original Sin,"—works that have given him his name as the third of a trio of

which Augustine and Calvin form the first and second, — were there composed, — there, amid that grand scenery, where, in a spirit alike pure, but with a creed so different, for the last time Channing lifted up his voice for human freedom.

Seven years thus spent brought him to a new era in his life. Called to the presidency of the College at Princeton, he was regarded as on the eve of new achievements in a more auspicious career. But no. That mighty intellect, which had long encroached upon the feeble body, was to encroach upon it no more. A few weeks after his entrance upon his academic duties, he died. After he had been given up as senseless and speechless, he surprised his mourning attendants by saying distinctly, — "Trust in God, and ye need not fear," — thus true in death to that sentiment which had marked his whole life. A few months afterwards his wife followed him, and was interred by his side. Fit woman was this Sarah Pierrepont to be his companion in life and death. Her piety was as lofty as his, and far more beautiful, — the vine clinging, indeed, confidingly to the rock, yet so much more lovely, and sometimes stretching its branches and rich clusters above the highest crag. She blended the most pains-taking prudence with the most devoted and even rapturous piety. Her heart was sometimes so wrought upon by contemplation of Divine grace, that her very frame felt the movement, and, to use a comparison which we have met in some old author, in Leighton, we believe, her whole being seemed drawn tremulously towards the Saviour, as the magnet points with trembling yearning towards the polar star. Not Theresa nor Madame Guyon, in the rapture of their mystical marriage with Christ, ever flamed with a more sacred or absorbing passion. She had confessed to her husband that a "glow of Divine love seemed to come down from the heart of Christ in heaven into her heart like a stream or pencil of sweet light." In death they were not divided. As we think of them, it seems as if Numidia had sent hither the soul of her august bishop, and Spain the spirit of her sainted devotee, his spiritual child, though the interval was a thousand years; and Augustine and Theresa had reappeared, not, indeed, under a tropical sun, nor in monastic seclusion or ascetic enthusiasm, but in the stern clime of our North, and with the subdued temperament and under the hallowed union of a true New England home.

When Edwards died, his fame was by no means at its height. The theological world was in commotion, and it was not clear what estimate would be set upon his principles and writings. Chauncy, Mayhew, and a host of able men, virtually, if not at first nominally, Arminians, were in the field. He little knew what strong intellects, such as Bellamy and Hopkins, had been raised up under his own instruction, nor could he have anticipated that his own son and namesake, then a lad of thirteen, would be his equal in logical force, and his superior in range of learning. Nor had he the second-sight to see that among his grandsons were to be men as noted as President Dwight, and as notorious as Aaron Burr. The great events then at hand may have been vaguely anticipated. The shadows, however, which they cast before them, could but poorly reveal their form and significance. A revolution in theology, as well as in government, was at hand in New England.

Now that the revolution has come, we look back to study the influence of this great Calvinist upon religion and theology. His position may be stated in few words. The Calvinistic creed had begun to lose ground among the people of New England, when he came to its rescue, and sought to defend and enlarge its leading dogmas by the mingled aid of Scripture and mental analysis. In his conclusions he differs not widely from Calvin, but very widely in his method of explaining and defending those conclusions. Calvin, the French refugee of Geneva, had the acute mind appropriate to the legal profession in which he was trained. Edwards possessed the higher power of the metaphysician, and, by subtile distinction and elaborate deductions, sought to justify to human reason doctrines which Calvin thinks to deduce from Scriptural precedent, and is not unwilling to state in all their intrinsic repulsiveness. We can but glance at the main points of Edwards's system, and of the antagonist system of the Arminians.

His starting principle was, that God is sovereign, and acts according to his own supreme will and arbitrary pleasure, without being bound by any obligation or any foresight of faith or merit. Whom he will, he elects to heaven. Whom he will, he dooms to hell. His great motive, and the end of creation, is to declare his own glory by the emanation of his own infinite fulness, "including the manifestation of his internal glory to created understandings, the communication of

the infinite fulness of God to the creature, the creature's high esteem of God, love to him, and complacence and joy in him ; and the proper exercises and expressions of these." The school in which Chauncy and Mayhew flourished, the one more as the learned theologian, the other more as the philosophical moralist, without denying or disparaging the sovereignty of God, attached most emphasis to his benevolence, and urged the benignity of his attributes rather than the supremacy of his power as the key to his government, and the ground of his dealing with men.

Edwards regarded men as by nature totally depraved, or fatally tainted with original sin, — not, indeed, under condemnation merely on account of Adam's sin, but as sharing in his fallen nature, heirs of his wickedness and of its consequences, even as the branches of a tree derive their character and lot from the parent stock. He asserted the freedom of the soul in one respect, and denied it in another. Man, according to him, is free to act as he pleases, but by no means free to please to act, except according to the nature of his depraved will or affections. He has natural ability, but not moral ability. No external power prevents his doing right. He cannot, simply because he will not, and cannot will ; just as a drunkard in extreme sottishness is said to be unable to reform, not because any outward force is brought to bear upon him, but because his appetite is so strong that he will not give up the cursed thing. Chauncy and his companions were also willing to assert the depravity of man, but denied that it went so far as to destroy his moral power, or prevent his laying hold of the means of recovery. He, with the Arminian divines, contended for freedom of will in the sense of power over its volition, — power to modify the volitions, not merely to act them out.

One more branch of doctrine needs to be mentioned. From the views of Edwards regarding God and man, it is obvious what his doctrine of salvation must be. God being sovereign, and man being totally corrupt, and doomed by nature to eternal woe, only sovereign elective grace can save him. He can be saved only by the Divine decree, which accepts the sacrifice of Christ as virtually in place of the sinner's penalty, and communicates to him such spiritual power as awakens or creates a new principle of love in his soul, and thus places him among the redeemed. The strong mind of Edwards was saved from the absurdity of maintaining that

Christ's sufferings are a vicarious payment of man's debts to the Divine justice, and of thus nullifying mercy by representing justice as fully satisfied, and the whole account between man and his Maker as squared. He deemed the sacrifice of Christ necessary, in order that man might be forgiven without disparagement to the Divine government. Chauncy and his school attributed far more power to man in the work, and described the influence of Christ's mission and sacrifice as brought near enough to every man by the Gospel to redeem all souls who will strive to lay hold of the proffered blessing. They preferred, however, to forego theorizing upon the nature of the atonement, and rest in the simple facts and statements of Scripture.

There are several minuter shades of doctrine by which Mr. Edwards explained his views, and modified the prevailing dogmatic Calvinism; but upon these we cannot dwell. Nor can we enlarge upon the principles already stated as at issue between him and his antagonists. The feelings and convictions of most persons for whom we write are so decided, as to make the statement of these points equivalent to a determination of their merits. Our criticism of Edwards's system must be confined to a few leading traits, which at once illustrate the man and his principles.

First, we observe that he, like all prominent Calvinists, was more of a deductive than an inductive thinker; more able and apt to deduce remote consequences from given principles, than to arrive at principles by a broad induction of facts. It is generally presumptuous to deny the correctness of his reasoning from his premises or starting-points. But consider well his premises, and at once grave misgivings arise, if not of their individual correctness, at least of their collective completeness. This faculty of intellect makes him almost invincible as an antagonist, especially in the attack; for when his opponents state their own premises or definitions, since, upon all moral topics, definitions are generally insufficient or incomplete, they are entirely at his mercy. With his unsurpassed power of deduction, he traces each statement to its consequences, and each little rivulet of inadvertence or error swells into an Atlantic of folly or absurdity. As we read his assault upon the Arminian position, and see how ably he reduces some of its statements to absurdity, we cannot but imagine how his own position would appear, if assaulted with the like force, — what Pantheism might be de-

duced from his doctrine of Divine sovereignty, what Fatalism lurks in his views of free-will, and to what utter Universalism his theory of God's elective grace and the supreme excellence of love must lead. Let him turn his own powerful magnifier against himself, as he turned it against Taylor, Turnbull, and Williams, and motes enough would appear magnified into mountains. We cannot regard Edwards as by any means the master-mind in the broad survey of man, nature, and religion, that he was in tracing out favorite principles to ultimate results. In his way, and exalted as his aim was, he had, after all, much of the character of a special pleader.

A sad deficiency, surely, this was in one who undertook to describe and analyze the various and subtile parts of human consciousness, and to solve the enigmas that involve the relation of man to God. This is a second point of criticism upon Edwards and his school. How vastly different was the method of Him whom God sent to be our Teacher as well as Saviour! What profound yet tender recognition of all the facts of our nature, what simple yet sublime statements of the providence and attributes of God! We read the treatises on the Freedom of the Will, and on the Affections, with wonder, and not a little of admiration. But what relief we feel in turning to the words of Christ, listening to the story of the Prodigal Son, to learn by beautiful similitude what the sinner can do to find peace, and what the Father will do to grant pardon, — then to the parable of the Good Samaritan, to know what the affections are that please God and open heaven. Read what the austere Puritan says of God's hatred to the impenitent, — that he holds them over the pit of hell as one holds a loathsome insect, and that they are more abominable in his sight than the most loathsome serpent is in ours, — then turn to the Sermon on the Mount, and the contrast is striking enough. In these impressions we are not left to the limits of Liberal Christians for sympathy. We might quote, from the able pens of New Haven or Andover, animadversions quite as strong as are uttered among ourselves upon the great Puritan's severity.

We go on to say, that, mighty as this logician was in his deductions of consequences, he was in his premises often under the control of his emotions, and thus left to carry out logically trains of reasoning that started not in reason. His fundamental doctrine of election, that vexed topic that seems

to have originated in Paul's account of God's dealing with the Jews and Gentiles as nations, he imbibed, without being able to say how, whether from devout feeling or early association; and his theory of original sin rests on an assumption in reference to the first chapters of Genesis, and, to take the view most favorable to him, was at least quite as much the result of his prostrate humility as the conclusion of his commanding intellect. Under the metaphysician and theologian lay the master elements of the poet and devotee. He mingled in himself qualities not often in such union. In his composition he seems to have had the heart of Bunyan, with the head of Spinoza. His mind was like the granite peak of a great volcano, its solid mass resting upon hidden fires that forced it up to its dizzy height, and still through its hard and adamantine walls poured its flames heavenward, lending glory to the skies, and casting blackness and ashes upon the earth. There was much of the poetical element in his nature, and, as has been said, if we remember rightly, the world lost a poet in gaining a metaphysician. But his poetic sense, instead of dealing in playful fancies or building gorgeous castles, instead of a tendency towards such spiritual creations as the Faery Queen or Paradise Lost, revealed itself in the graphic illustrations, the intense objectivity, in which his ideas are presented. His fancies and feelings were engrossed by his vast doctrinal system, and were taken up by these abstract formulas, even as the electric fluid darts from its cloud and runs upon iron bars. His system aimed to bridge over the interval between heaven and earth, God and man. To his imagination, if we may change the figure, along its adamantine steps came down the seven-fold lightnings of the judgment-seat, and again benignant angels ascended and descended upon their ministries of love.

His emotions were all religious. Shrinking from society, he lived chiefly as before God. Theocrat in heart, his system was, after all, the creature of his intellect, working at the bidding of his emotions. It is not difficult to imagine him, under the influence of other associations, giving his mind to the defence of far other doctrines. Educated in Italy, and in the noontide of the Papal despotism, with priestly influences flowing down upon him from gorgeous churches and learned schools, he might have rivalled Aquinas, become the Seraphic Doctor of Romish scholasticism, and have done for the creed of Hildebrand what he did for that of Calvin.

Or, placed in the circumstances of Richard Hooker, we can fancy him inflamed with something of that gifted man's inspiration, and defending the polity of the Elizabethan prelacy, as he did that of the Puritan theocracy.

In head and heart Edwards was a thorough-going metaphysical theocrat, using the iron sceptre of his logic in connection with the pages of revelation, as the Papal theocrat wields the iron sceptre of authority through the decrees of councils and the pageantry of rituals. He had the air of a vicegerent of God. His children always rose when he entered the room. So much a matter of course was his superiority over the other members of the family, that the silver bowl before him did not appear in any invidious contrast with the baser ware of the remainder of the table. How unlike the rough and benevolent Chauncy, whose children were frequently locked with him into the study to keep them out of the way, whilst he, good man, undisturbed by their noise, plunged into the folios of the Fathers to find arguments against Episcopacy, or was meditating upon the love of God in creation and redemption, bent upon proving the ultimate triumph of Divine mercy. Yet, with all his spectral majesty, Edwards was a most humble soul, and deemed himself the lowly instrument of Divine Providence. Unlike such men as Cotton Mather, he identified the cause of God with his own interests, not his own interests with the cause of God, and was saved from the scandal of always regarding his own opponents as of necessity the opponents of heaven.

Edwards was a theocrat of the dogmas, as the Catholic priest is a theocrat of the ritual. Compare him with Bossuet. As the Archbishop of Meaux sought to revive the waning power of the priestly hierarchy, so Edwards would do with the declining authority of the theocracy of doctrine. Bossuet stood forth, in all the magnificence of his pontifical robes and the splendor of the Papal ritual, to defend, by his rare learning, logic, and eloquence, the power of the priestly succession to grant or refuse the sacraments of salvation. This is ritual theocracy. In Puritan simplicity, with the Bible in hand, and no aids but his own commanding intellect and the spirit of God, the minister of Northampton stood up to plead for the Divine authority of his system of doctrine, made salvation accessible only through the medium of dogmatic truth, and, by right of the truth he professed to wield, dealt out joy and woe as under the commission of high Heav-

en itself. Such is the theocracy of the dogma. Who that knows any thing of Puritan greatness can doubt the force of such an appeal? Basing succession upon truth, not truth upon succession, it speaks in God's name, and alike on battle-fields, on the stormy seas, and amid the famines, pestilences, and earthquakes of early times, its cry has been, — "If God be for us, who can be against us?" With philosophy to back it, and without philosophy, this doctrine has acted with tremendous power upon men. Edwards surveyed the whole field of history from his dogmatic point of view. He wrote his History of Redemption as Bossuet wrote his Essay upon Universal History. Where one sees the traces of the imperishable hierarchy, the other sees the traces of the imperishable doctrine. It is no small privilege to look upon the broad chart of history through the eyes of these two master-spirits, these eagles of Meaux and Northampton. If the Frenchman has the more polished style, artistic arrangement, and statesmanlike grasp, the New-Englander is not less acute, comprehensive, and forcible. We should be sorry, however, to read history through no other eyes than theirs. Yet neither was the slave of system. The independent spirit that moved the one to be the champion of the liberties of the Gallican Church against Ultramontane usurpations is worthy of being named with the intrepidity with which the other took his stand in defence of Congregational freedom.

We must hasten now towards our conclusion, although it be at the sacrifice of a most interesting branch of the subject, — the relation of Edwards to the leading philosophers, especially the Christian philosophers, of his age. The eighteenth century was peculiarly a philosophical age. While the exile from Northampton was pursuing his exalted studies in the wilds of Stockbridge, other minds of similar tendencies, in quarters little familiar to him, were engaged in the same noble work, and striving to confirm Christian faith by the light of reason and philosophy. What an august conclave could have been assembled of sages living at the same time! For a moment suppose them brought together. From the see of Cloyne, in Ireland, let Berkeley come, honored, indeed, with the mitre, yet as humble-minded as when in his Rhode Island seclusion, more experienced in the world, but not the less a spiritualist from the knowledge of its grossness; from the episcopal palace of Durham let

Butler, master of the science of analogy, sage in the knowledge of man's moral nature, wisest of English moralists, come; from his home in Bath let Hartley come, pattern of a Christian physician, and precursor of the host of men who have sought to illustrate the mind by the body, and to confirm Christianity by arguments drawn from both; from his retired nook at Königsberg, Prussia, let Kant come, investigator of the laws of pure reason; and with him, at respectful distance, the skeptic Hume, whose system he sought to demolish, and for his dreary doubt to substitute a deep philosophic faith; let Sweden, too, send her sage, her mystic seer, for there is room for Emanuel Swedenborg in that assembly. When all have met together, let the Puritan divine and metaphysician enter. We will not discuss the true order of precedence, nor say what place belongs to him. Little honor will we claim for him as a master of style, if good style consists in the choice of the most classic words and the framing of the most harmonious periods. In style he falls as far below Berkeley as he rises above Butler. But surely this august assembly would present no spirit purer, no intellect stronger, than his. To Edwards belongs a chief place among the metaphysicians of the eighteenth century, a high place among the intellects of our race. As we have been wont to believe, the highest honor among the teachers of our race belongs to those who have taught men to acknowledge spiritual realities, and moved them to live as subjects of a Divine kingdom. The view which Edwards took of the natural depravity of the human heart, and its innate incapacity for spiritual life, shall not prevent our regarding him as one of the great spiritualists of the Church. Devoutly he believed in the Divine light, and was the means of its shining in many souls. It is the baser, and more frequent, error to doubt or deny its existence, than to mourn as he did over the original sin that had extinguished its flame.

Let us look now upon our New England, and consider the changes that have taken place since his day. He still lives in his works, and his opinions, however much modified in the creed of his avowed followers, are still consulted with reverence, and by not a few regarded as authoritative. Princeton and East Windsor may be alone ready to bind themselves to his authority, yet Andover and New Haven rejoice to honor his name and laud his theological services, whilst Cambridge has no word of disparagement for his character. New Eng-

land owes him gratitude, if not for the details of his system, surely for the elevation of his aims, and the school of intellectual discipline in which so many strong minds have been trained. Chauncy survived him twenty years, and saw changes which his sterner compeer was not permitted to witness. Chauncy lived to pronounce the funeral sermon of the noble Mayhew, and to see the consummation of the result for which Mayhew had so fondly hoped, — our country independent of the sceptre and crosier of England. He lived to see innovations considerably in advance of his own avowed position. In his day, the Trinitarian clauses were stricken from the Liturgy of King's Chapel, which he once feared would combine or exhibit the sway of the crown and the mitre. He lived to see his warnings against fanaticism heeded, and the sober men of the straitest sect adopting his views respecting the marks of true religion and church prosperity. As he grew old, devotion more and more absorbed him, and subdued a heart more prone by nature to strength than to tenderness of feeling. With doctrines hopeful and benevolent, that despaired of no man's final salvation, he rivalled in the fervor of his piety the austere man whose name he had rarely mentioned in controversy, but whose tendencies he had been called upon to oppose, content with exhibiting the excesses of Whitefield, Tennent, and Davenport, without presuming to say how much of their extravagance had its countenance in the revivalist of Northampton. Both these fathers of our churches trusted in the living God, and owned with prostrate devotion his glory in Christ.

They have been the spiritual fathers of a mighty host, and by affinity with one or the other the tendencies of subsequent times may be designated. Their names stand fitly at the head of the Christian Independents, the Congregationalists, of New England, and, in fact, of our whole country. We are not amongst those who are ashamed of the history of Congregationalism. The Congregationalists of New England, both Orthodox and Liberal, have given to our country its noblest intellectual, moral, and religious treasures. They have taken the lead in all laudable enterprise. The useful arts, literature, theology, missions, education, moral reform, practical religion, have found their chief champions among them.

It is a solemn thing to review the lives of our illustrious fathers. In all their diversities of doctrine and temperament,

how they trusted in God, the living God ! How steadfastly they looked to the great First Cause through all second causes ! How is it now, in this age of the apotheosis of nature, the adoration, almost, of science, the industrial arts, and the gold to which they are made so mightily to minister ?

We are men of the third century of New England. Let us not forget the lesson of the first and second centuries. Think of the first age. Call up the image of the Pilgrim band. We may almost hear the Atlantic waves beating against the rock-bound coast, and see the weary ship appear with its Heaven-guided company, and catch the sound of their mighty anthem, " Not unto us, O Lord, not unto us, but unto thy name give glory for thy mercy and for thy truth's sake." The worthies of the second age appear, and, with their more advanced civilization, thought, and liberality, speak the same sentiment through men as diverse as the rigid Edwards and the more hopeful Chauncy. Let the men of the third age give the response. Let not the cares of the world, nor the delusions of partial science, nor the worship of second causes, nor the decencies of external morality, nor even the excitements of social reform, lead us to forget to worship the God of our fathers, and crave the grace proffered through his Son. Whilst so many causes give the mind a horizontal turn, and in this line so many of our interests lead, let us not slight the beacon fingers that point upward to God and eternity. Edwards may help to teach us this lesson the more, if we can look upward through a more cheering creed than was his. S. O.

Art. V. — THE REVELATION OF ST. JOHN.*

The "Revelation" of St. John is, to the majority of readers, still a riddle. We welcome, beforehand, the attempt, coming from one of the freer sections of the Church, to remove the *seventy times* seven-fold seal with which a book, to us so impressive and practical, as well as poetical, has for ages been sealed, by those whom "much learning"

* *A Commentary on the Revelation of St. John, the Divine.* By Thomas Whittemore. Boston: J. M. Usher. 1848. 12mo. pp. 388.

(or much ignorance) had made "mad." The appearance of a popular commentary on the Apocalypse, in style and size corresponding to the Notes of Barnes and Livermore, is, to us, an interesting, and, we would fain think, a promising, phenomenon in our modern Church history. It is one of our favorite notions, that the Revelation of St. John, the Divine, is destined, one day, to become a popular book; we mean a book which the people can understand, appreciate, and admire. That the work before us will help toward this result we do not doubt, notwithstanding our dissent from several of the writer's positions. For he respects, on the whole, poetry and common sense in his interpretation far more than does any treatise on the subject in English with which we are acquainted. Even this liberal critic, indeed, seems to us somewhat too literal, at times, and prosaic in the tone and tendency of his explanations; but, on the whole, we are grateful for the volume he has given us, and glad to speed it on its mission, which we trust will be successful, so far as to draw a wide and rational and greatly enlightened attention to a long abused part of Scripture.

We differ from Mr. Whittemore on two points. He maintains that John wrote his Revelation fifteen or twenty years before the destruction of Jerusalem, in the reign of Nero. Not considering the external evidence as decisive, he relies upon internal. We do not think he makes out his case. We should like, if we had room here, to shake apart his loose logic on the subject; but we must hasten on to bring forward presently our own view on a more important topic, — the general character of the Apocalypse and its meaning for us and for all time. We would submit, however, for the present, to Mr. Whittemore and his readers, whether it is really credible that Nero was the great beast, the scarlet-colored beast on which the mystic woman rode, the seven-headed, ten-horned beast, *one* of whose heads was apparently wounded to death and then healed, — that Nero was the terrible beast whose enmity to the Lamb occupies so much of the book, and which *not till after the destruction of Rome* (or Paganism, or Popery, whichever it be) was cast into the lake of fire. We submit whether it would not have been wiser in this case, as in the case of the "Six hundred and sixty-six," to say, "Let him that hath understanding give the name and number of the beast; we have not that understanding." For ourselves, we apprehend that the

"seven" assigned as the number of the kings is purely a poetic Hebraism. It seems to us that the greater proportion of Mr. Whittemore's eight arguments prove no more than that John describes the destruction of Jerusalem, — as we, and all, admit he does; but simply by taking a position in imagination *out of time*, whence he can see the past as future and the future as past. As to resemblances between the Revelation and Apostolic writings confessedly earlier than the destruction of Jerusalem, we see not why John may not have borrowed from them, as well as they from John. The idea, that Peter's "sure word of prophecy" refers to the Apocalypse, is refuted by Peter himself, who says, a verse or two after, that he means prophecy of "old time." The argument, that a man of ninety or a hundred years would not be apt to display such "luxuriance of imagination," is met by the facts, that John was in a peculiarly exciting situation, that he is very greatly indebted to the imagery of the ancient prophets, and that, as an Apostle, he was open to special inspiration. Finally, we commend to Mr. Whittemore a passage or two from Bishop Prettyman, who, after adducing Irenæus, Origen, Eusebius, and several ancient fathers, all of whom placed the banishment of St. John to Patmos in the latter part of the reign of Domitian, says: — "It appears from the book itself, that churches had already been established for a considerable time in Asia Minor, since St. John reproaches them, in the name of Christ, with faults which do not take place immediately; he blames the church at Ephesus for having left its first love. . . . . Now the church at Ephesus, for example, was not founded by St. Paul till the latter part of the reign of Claudius; and when he wrote to them from Rome in the year 61 or 62, so far from reproaching them with any defect of love, on the contrary he commends their love and their faith."

But Mr. Whittemore's argument involves the assumption, that all those prophecies of the Saviour and his apostles respecting his second coming, which John's so much resemble, relate to the destruction of Jerusalem only, and this brings us to our second topic of dissent. We hold it a signal error to believe that the second coming of Jesus meant only, or chiefly, the destruction of Jerusalem. Undoubtedly it meant that, but it meant infinitely more. That was the signal, the beginning, of his kingdom; but it stretches forward into eternity. Mr. Whittemore overlooks the important fact, that the de-

scent of the New Jerusalem, the setting up of the great white (mediatorial) throne, the renovation of the heavens and the earth, the sitting of Christ's followers on their thrones, which were to take place, according to this Commentary, immediately upon the downfall of the holy city, do not after all take place till the destruction of Rome, which (according to any calculation) must date some centuries later. Our Christian faith, our poetic sense, and our common sense alike revolt at the idea of explaining that language about the earth *and sea* giving up their dead as a mere figurative way of describing the moral resurrection of men in this world. And we must protest here, generally, against the paradox, which vitiates the Commentary before us, of making the solemn "Revelations" of John and of Jesus preach (even negatively) the Universalist doctrine, — we mean the predestined, certain, inevitable salvation of all souls.

But, commending Mr. Whittemore's book, for all this, as an interesting, ingenious, and suggestive work, we must proceed to present our own view of the whole subject.

We do not propose, in this article, to give an exposition of the Apocalypse, which has been done in two earlier numbers of our journal.* We wish simply to make such general remarks on the book as may help to prepare the way for a right study and a practical application of it.

The Apocalypse, as we have said, though called a "Revelation," is, to the majority of readers, still a riddle. And if the literal mode of interpreting it be the right one, must we not think that it was a great misnomer on the part of the author, or of the Church, his editor, to call the book a Revelation? Literally interpreted, prosaically approached, experience would seem to declare that it veils far more than it reveals; or, if this mysterious character must be supposed to belong to the very nature of a spiritual revelation, then let us amend the phrase by saying, that the Apocalypse, literally expounded, only makes visible the very darkness it proposed to dispel, and may well justify the title given to a celebrated commentary upon it, — "Revelation Revealed," — in other words, *Illumination Illuminated.*

If the mode in which the Apocalypse has been so generally handled in the Church, by learned and simple, be the correct one, vain was it, one would think, that the writer, at the out-

* *Christian Examiner* for May, 1830, and September, 1844.

set, represented the Holy Spirit as intending to *show* unto his servants the things which must shortly come to pass; vain was it, that, at the conclusion, he was told not to "seal" his book, because the time was at hand. It certainly may be said to have been, from the beginning, a "sealed book," and to be so at this day, with multitudes, and not unlearned readers alone. It was not altogether a frivolous or foolish remark of Voltaire's, that "Sir Isaac Newton wrote his comment upon the Revelation to console mankind for the great superiority he had over them in other respects." Luther, imaginative as he was, when he would indulge himself in that way, gave up this book for a perfect puzzle, and the reason was, that he wanted to reduce it to a statement of facts. "Let whoso can make any thing of it make what he can," says he; "I can make nothing."

It is probably known to most of our readers, that the Revelation was the last of the sacred books admitted into the volume of the New Testament. The slowness of its admission into the canon, which was not ecclesiastically completed till after several Councils, seems to have been owing, not so much to want of evidence in regard to its authorship, (though the opinion of antiquity was divided on that point, some maintaining it to be the work of *one* John, an Ephesian *elder*,) as to a feeling that its obscurity or its enigmatical character made its insertion in the public Church Scriptures unadvisable, — a feeling strengthened by the fact of its having been made the occasion of confirming, even so early in the history of the Church, the notion, against which an Apostle had warned his brethren, that the day of the Lord was literally at hand. So that, even in those early ages, the Apocalypse seems to have been a sort of sealed book, and since it has been *published*, so to speak, and in the hands of all, as an inspired, authoritative, didactic production, it has too generally been made worse than a sealed book, between ignorant fanaticism on the one hand, and learned folly on the other.

Many and various Symbolical Dictionaries have been prepared for the purpose of guiding the reader through the, so-called, mystical writings of the Bible, such as the prophecies of John and Daniel, and particularly for furnishing rules by which any one, no matter whether he has the poetic spirit or not, may understand and apply the figures (both arithmetical and rhetorical) with which these writings are so filled and marked. These keys have been made out, generally, by

comparing Scripture with Scripture, — a very proper course, when properly conducted; but in this case almost all the interpreters, however they may differ in their results, have agreed in starting upon one and the same erroneous principle, namely, that of literal interpretation, not to say on the false theory of literal inspiration. Accordingly, they undertake to tell us, by a collection and comparison of Scripture places, what is meant by "a day" in the symbolical language of the prophets, and what the "three days and a half" denote, and what the "twelve hundred and sixty days," and what the emblem of a "beast" signifies, and what a "dragon," and what a "red dragon," and what a "woman riding on a beast" typifies, and what is the spiritual and symbolical meaning of "waters," and what of "mountains," and so on, through a long catalogue of numbers and metaphors. Thus, one will find it set down that "a day" means a thousand years, because Peter says expressly "one day is with the Lord as a thousand years," — these calculators omitting to notice the two qualifications, first, that the Apostle says "*as* [as it were] a thousand years," implying that he speaks figuratively, poetically, and not literally, and, secondly, that he is speaking of what times and things are in the *Lord's* sight. In a similar spirit one will find it laid down, that because St. John, having described a beast rising out of the sea, afterwards draws out his metaphor into the form of a comparison by explaining the sea to mean nations and empires, therefore, in another place, when the dragon vomits forth a flood to swallow the mystic woman, the meaning of course is, that he sent forth multitudes and tribes of men to persecute and destroy her. We are not objecting to this particular interpretation, but to the principle of laying these things down so precisely and stiffly, and giving laws, as it were, to the inspired poet's genius. We would not be understood as proposing to give information on these points, or even as intending to criticize the correctness of the results at which interpreters have arrived. Many of those results may be true; but if they should be, as regards the details of precise historical fulfilment, we humbly apprehend it will be because they are, after all, but a few among a multitude of ingenious guesses.

We would not venture on the rashness of denying that St. John, in describing the downfall of Rome, refers to the destruction of Papal as well as Imperial power, — of nominally Christian, as well as Pagan idolatry and despotism. The

description of the mother of abominations in connection with the lamb-like looking beast with a dragon's voice is certainly, at least, a close coincidence.* Still, after all, we think there has been too much or too exclusive attention to the fate of particular institutions, the Papacy, for instance, as if the fall of that were the destruction of the beast, rather than the fall of the Roman imperial power. The *spirit* of Papacy, the spirit of priestly despotism, is not confined to the Romish Church. And why should the "man of sin" be any individual man? Why is it not "the old man," to which Paul elsewhere refers, the carnal man which exists in every individual, even in the Church, — called "the man of sin," because manifested in a new and peculiarly repulsive form, that of Christian pride and persecution, Christian inquisition and intolerance?

It may seem inconsistent to censure the old modes of interpreting the Apocalypse as *literal*, when they expressly recognize its symbolical character. So they do. But still they manifest, in the explanation of the symbols, in the translation of the figures into facts, a literal spirit. We do not find fault with them for representing the Apocalypse as mystical and typical, if by that be meant imaginative and poetical; but we do find fault with them for not respecting the freedom and fervor of the poet's genius, and even (may we not say, especially?) of the prophet's inspiration. They treat St. John's burning words as if he had coolly picked them out of the great symbolical and hieroglyphic dictionary of the Spirit. Now the great characteristic of the imagination, of the figurative faculty, is, that in its grasp and glow language and creation become pliant and fusible. The spirit is not tied down to use words and images always with one fixed meaning; and what they do mean must be caught by ardent sympathy, not conned and spelt out by cold criticism. Because St. John, pacing the sandy margin of his lonely island, sees and hears, in the tumultuous waves dashing around him, an emblem of "peoples and nations," we are not to set it down, that, whenever he speaks of seas, he means multitudes of men. The truth is, no lexicon, no Runic grammar, will ever bring a

* Mr. Whittemore seems to us to pass too lightly over the fact, that this beast, otherwise called "false prophet," imitated a lamb. Did not John mean to convey the idea of a beast imitating *the* Lamb, — an Antichrist, — one who "came out from" the Church, as he says in his Epistle, assuming a Christian sanctity?

prosaic mind or mood to a right appreciation of the Apocalypse. To understand it truly, one must be in the spirit of piety and in the spirit of poetry, — must have the spirit of the Lord and the spirit of liberty. Will it be said, Who, then, shall presume to interpret the book, and "to loose the seals thereof"? We answer, although no human being may have the proper gifts in proper proportions or in a perfect degree, yet a measure of them is within the reach of all, and just so far as we have drunk in the genuine spirit of the Christian poet, prophet, and saint, just so far shall we be enabled to comprehend the essential meaning of the Revelation of St. John.

It may sound presumptuous to some, to hear it said that we, of this day, are capable of understanding the Scripture better than it was understood, in many respects, in the first ages after the Apostles themselves. They who, unacquainted with the mystical tendency of the minds of many of the early fathers, please their fancy with applying to these matters the proverb, "The nearer the source, the purer the stream," will find in Church history an abundance of refractory facts. The truth is, that wisdom is not always, like knowledge, transmitted from generation to generation. And it is wisdom we most want in interpreting the Revelation.

We humbly apprehend that the great reason why the Apocalypse has so long been such a sealed book is twofold; first, that the imagination, and, secondly, that the conscience, have not been sufficiently exercised in the interpretation of it. It may sound paradoxical enough, to say that the imagination has not been sufficiently indulged on this subject. One would think it the great trouble, that imagination has had the Apocalypse all to itself, and run wild over its pages. And so fancy has; but we mean by imagination a somewhat different faculty. Fancy may be ever so much employed in the interpretation of Scripture, and yet, after all, the interpretation be very literal in its basis, very precise, prim, and prosaic in its tone and tendency. A good illustration is afforded by the Swedenborgian theory, particularly in regard to the doctrine of symbols and correspondences. Fancy amuses itself more with the parts; imagination grasps the whole and goes to the soul of it. Fancy is more a passive, imagination a practical faculty.

If any suppose that it is dangerous to the authority of Scripture to allow the license in its interpretation for which

we are contending, they may be assured of one thing, that there is often more danger from the literal than from the liberal, from the prosaic than from the poetic, way of handling Scripture. This position, we fully believe, history will sustain. It is fancy that has done the mischief of perverting and perplexing Scripture, and not imagination, — the literal, and not the spiritual principle.

In dwelling so much on the error of attempting to interpret the Apocalypse literally, we have been actuated principally by considering the effect of persistence in that error upon the feelings of multitudes with regard to a most precious production. The effect has been, we apprehend, to urge the minds of the skeptical, and of the great mass of unreflecting readers, over into the opposite extreme, of conceiving, that, as the sharp eyes of the critics can make nothing consistent out of the book, in all probability there is nothing in it, clear or connected. While the doctors are disputing whether this or that prediction relates to Attila or Napoleon, to the Huns or the Jacobins, the Papal or the Mahometan power, — while they are developing and defending, here an alleged reference to the Protestant Reformation, and there to the French Revolution, — attention is distracted from the real meaning and majesty of the book, and the common reader says, "Well, if there is any doctrine in it, let them find it whose business it is"; and the caviller deems it as much as the subject deserves, to dismiss it with the light remark, that the writer was probably old, childish, and crazed by his troubles, and scarcely knew what he meant himself by the rhapsody.

Now between these two extremes, as we conceive, lies the true view of the character and import of the Apocalypse. In our opinion, as they are greatly misled who seek in it, throughout, specific predictions, and literal circumstantial descriptions of fact, so do they egregiously err who pronounce upon it or neglect it as a mere rhapsody. The Revelation of St. John is a highly finished work of genius, and the study which it requires, and will repay, is not that which aims at deducing from it cold dogmas or precise facts, but that which comprehends the imaginative beauty and keeping of the whole, and thus, through the imagination, appreciates its deeper meaning for the heart, its more solemn meaning for the conscience.

If our view of the inspiration and authority of the Apoca-

lypse be correct, it is not, indeed, a vital question, whether it was written by John the Evangelist or John the elder, or whether it was written by some person in the name and character of St. John, just as Ecclesiastes is by some supposed to be the work of one placing himself in Solomon's situation and expressing the natural sentiments of such a man at the close of such a life. There are several things, however, about the work, which convince us that it was actually the production of the aged Evangelist and exile himself, — things which, in the hands of the author of the "Horæ Paulinæ," might have produced a *Horæ Johanninæ*, or argument for the Johannean authorship of the Apocalypse (and Mr. Whittemore has produced one), of no mean cogency. And there is one slight, but significant, circumstance in the first verse of the twenty-first chapter, which seems to throw a strong side-light on the authorship of the book. The writer, in his picture of the new earth of the millennium, says, "And there was no more sea." How natural, now, that a man banished to a desolate island, — listening all day long to the monotonous and melancholy swell of the ocean, and reminded continually of the watery barrier that separated him from friends to whom he was bound by so many natural and spiritual ties, — should, in his visions of heaven, find that *there* was no more sea to separate friends! So the Nadowessian Indian, in the dirge which the poet has made for him, sings: —

> "Well with him! he 's gone for ever,
> Where is no more *snow*."

Those everlasting snow-drifts, through which he had so often toiled, and in which he had so often wellnigh lost himself or slept the sleep of death, could not make a part of his heaven.

We assume the ground, of course, that the writer of the Apocalypse adopted the peculiar kind of imagery he has used from the natural tendency of his feelings, circumstances, and education. Any one who should regard all these features of the narrative as literally prophetic might, perhaps, prefer to avail himself of the discoveries of the telescope, and from the analogy of the well-known astronomical fact, that in the moon there is no water, and every appearance of a burnt-out world, might reason that when the future conflagration of our world shall take place, which is so frequently referred to by Prophet and Apostle, the elements melting with fervent heat, the air and sea of our globe shall be burnt

up likewise, preparatively to the renovation of the earth for its new inhabitants. We are not disposed, however, to take this literal view of Scripture and of prophecy, — certainly not to take such a view of the state of mind of the writer of the Apocalypse. Here was an aged Apostle, — one who from the beginning had been with Jesus and imbibed the spirit which "beheld Satan as lightning fall from heaven," and whose mind might well be filled and fired with glowing anticipations of the triumph of Christianity. He was by birth and early training a pious Jew, — a devout reader of the old Scriptures; at the same time, he had lived to see the holy city destroyed, and the temple left without one stone on another. It was "the Lord's day," — in more than one sense, *the day of the Lord*. The close of the century, and of his life-day, was approaching. His bosom companions, Peter and James, the other two of that favored three, had gone before him through the gate-way of martyrdom, and he was left alone. Must not those last words of the Master, when, predicting the fate of John, he said, "If I will that he tarry till I come, what is that to thee?" have lingered on the old man's ears and sunk into his heart, and kindled the fires of imagination in his fading age? Many of the signs of his coming which Christ had predicted had already taken place. But the Son of Man had not yet fully come, nor had *he* yet tasted death. Yet he was one of the very last links that connected the Church on earth with the Church in heaven. Being, then, still a partaker of mortality, being man, and an old man, and thus situated, internally and externally, how must the yearnings of hope and of memory (which is a sort of inverted hope) have beat against the frail clay which confined them!

It has been argued, that the Apocalypse could not have been written by an old man. Enough for our present purpose to repeat, that we assume a peculiar assistance of celestial inspiration. We only say, that, in recording what the vision and the voice made known, the prophet was undoubtedly affected by the natural susceptibilities of his situation, his eventful age, his declining years. Thus cut off from his brethren, with no companions but the memories of the past and the anticipations of the future, with the gorgeous imagery of the ancient prophets ever shaping to him the clouds of heaven, and the solemn revelations of his Master murmuring in his ears with the murmur of the waters that dashed and

moaned around him, we conceive him to have composed, not for the information of future ages of the Church, but for his own comfort and for the comfort and encouragement of his tried and suffering brethren of the then existing Church militant, a Poem on the Triumph of Christianity. Ages on ages might elapse, might seem to drag along, through cloud and blood, before such a consummation could be realized; but come it must, and to the sacred seer, already caught up in faith and vision "beyond the flaming bounds of space and time," the longest and slowest ages dwindled and fleeted away, and the hour of completion was at hand. And so he wrote his prophetic poem, as if it were a dramatized history, marking the changes of the acts and scenes with the sound of a trumpet and the voice of thunder, and painting on the curtain, as it fell at the interludes, pictures the most awful and glorious. His subject being, as we have said, the Triumph of Christianity, he treated it in three parts or acts. In the first, after a preface of admonition to the churches which constitute his spectators and audience, and then a prologue preparatory to the solemn drama to be enacted, the downfall of Judaism or Jerusalem, the first obstacle to the spiritual religion of Jesus, is represented in highly wrought images, from the eighth chapter to the twelfth. Then, after a sort of interlude in heaven, the second act opens in the thirteenth chapter, and describes the downfall of the second foe of Christianity, Paganism, political and priestly, under the emblem of Babylon (for so it was deemed prudent in those times to denounce Rome under another name), and this act continues to the twentieth chapter. That chapter seems to contain a second interlude, and then, in the last two chapters, the third and closing act represents the peaceful erection of the kingdom of God, the setting up of his tabernacle, the descent of the New Jerusalem upon the renovated ruins of the old world.

There are three several and striking forms in which a coincidence and correspondence may be traced between the prophecy of John and portions of the Old Testament. The aged author of the Apocalypse combines in himself the Jewish prophet and the Christian poet. We need only remind our readers how naturally he derives a great proportion of his imagery from those old prophets of his childhood, Daniel, and Ezekiel, and Joel, and Isaiah. From them came, with the modifications which his own imagination has

given them, the mystical city, the celestial throne, and the beasts, the flying roll, and the sealed book, the scourges and the witnesses, and many of the most gorgeous images of the millennial reign. In the new dispensation's prophetic Evangelist we have the spirituality of Christian faith and revelation superadded to the purity and sublimity of the old dispensation's evangelic Prophet. Particularly is the correspondence to be remarked, that exists between the last chapter of Daniel and the last chapter of John's Revelation. It will be remembered that John's angel bade him "seal not the sayings of the prophecy of this book, for the time is at hand"; which is a counterpart to the direction that was given the prophet Daniel, namely, that he should shut and seal the book of the vision which he saw, because the end was not yet to be for many days. The correspondence between the two writers seems to us worth following out a little. Daniel records, that he inquired of the man who stood "on the waters of the river," what and when should be the end of these wonders which had been announced to him. And the angel, lifting up his hands to heaven, "sware by Him that liveth for ever" that they should continue "for a time, times, and a half," in other words, that they should be for many days, as a previous chapter has it; which Daniel, it would seem, understood not, and which it would appear not to have been intended that even he should understand fully. "But thou, O Daniel," said the angel, "shut up the words, and seal the book, even to the time of the end. Many shall run to and fro" (meanwhile, that is, there shall be great agitation and enterprise among the nations of the earth), "and knowledge shall be increased." But "go thy way, Daniel; for the words are closed up and sealed till the time of the end. Many" (indeed) "shall be purified and made white, and tried" (and found perfect after the fiery trial); "but the wicked shall do wickedly: and none of the wicked shall understand; but the wise shall understand" (all that is necessary for their salvation). And "blessed is he that waiteth" — was the conclusion of the whole matter — to the clearing up of the great mystery; and for thee, "go thou thy way," in faith and rest and hope, "till the end be."

On turning now to the tenth chapter of the Apocalypse, we see an angel, whose appearance is described, in some respects, with a striking similarity to Daniel's description, who stands with "his right foot upon the sea and his left

foot on the earth," and, lifting his hand to heaven, swears "by Him that liveth for ever," that there shall "be time" (or respite) "no longer," — that the end of the times is at hand, that "the mystery of God" is about to "be finished, as He hath declared to his servants the prophets." It certainly is not a far-fetched supposition, that the prophet Daniel is here especially alluded to, though the connection would indicate that "the mystery" spoken of denotes the opening of the kingdom of heaven to the Gentiles, with which Apostles, as well as Prophets, are so largely occupied. But when we come to the concluding chapters of the Apocalypse, to the portion commencing with the vision of the great white throne, and the general resurrection, and the book of life, and particularly when we come to the very last chapter, the coincidence in the general tone and coloring of the representation, and the correspondence in particular directions and declarations, between the prophet of Babylon and the prophet of Patmos, become most marked, and, perhaps we may say, instructive. The man in Daniel's vision had said, that he was blessed who should wait patiently, for it would be yet long before the end of these things; the angel of John's revelation says, — "Behold, I come quickly: blessed is he that keepeth the sayings of the prophecy of this book." The man who appeared to Daniel bade him close and seal his book till "the time of the end" (or the end of time), adding, that, in the long interval of probation, many would be purified and come out white from the trial through which they were made to pass, but that the wicked would do wickedly, — would be only hardened by the furnace of affliction; and John, placed in vision at the final point which Daniel beheld in the dim distance of futurity, and beholding the end as clearly as if it were already present, hears his angel say, — "Seal not the sayings of the prophecy of this book, for the time is at hand"; and hears him add the solemn sentence (so exactly following out the prediction in Daniel of what men *would* do), — "He that is unjust, let him be unjust still; and he that is holy, let him be holy still."

Secondly; if the book of Job is as ancient as some critics suppose, the inspired writings properly begin and end with a poem, — each sublime beyond comparison of mere human productions; the scene of one laid far back in the dim twilight of a patriarchal age, in the dawn of the primitive world

and the primitive faith, and stretching far up into that heaven, where Satan is yet unfallen and one of the ministering spirits before the throne, and to the time when the morning stars sang together for joy; and the scene of the other laid amidst the awful glories of the last day, the day of the Lord, the great day of judgment against the cities and the despotisms of the earth, the day of the millennial consummation, of the annihilation of evil and the Prince of evil, the dwelling of the tabernacle of God among men, the establishment of the kingdom of heaven on the new-created earth.

But, thirdly, it is remarkable, in whatever way we are to account for it, how felicitously the book of Genesis and the book of Revelation combine to form the *setting*, if we may say so, of the grand whole of Scripture. These two poems, — the one containing the history of the first creation, and the other the prophecy of the consummation of the second creation, — the one representing the fall of the race, and the other the restoration and redemption of the chosen seed, — how perfectly are they adapted to each other! If this adaptation was the work of the Church, it shows, to our mind, that in this the Church had the spirit of God. How beautifully do all things come round again! The seed of the woman has bruised the serpent's head, and he is crushed and destroyed for ever; and the vivid and sublime vision of him who beheld Satan as lightning falling from heaven, and the confident and consoling anticipation of that apostle of his, who, after the lapse of a generation, wrote, "The God of peace shall bruise Satan under your feet shortly," are both realized. Man has returned, after so many ages of trial and of torment, to the paradise from which he first wandered, driven forth by the angel who guarded the tree of life with the flaming sword. Here is the tree of life again by the river of life; it is the tree of *Christian* life; and the aged seer, remembering the goodly company of his brother Apostles, and the number of the tribes of Israel, beholds that the tree bears "twelve manner of fruits," and musing on the world-wide influence their writings are to carry with them, he remarks that the very "leaves of the tree are for the healing of the nations."

How beautifully, then, in the mirror of this book, are reflected, at once, the position of its aged author in the pilgrimage of life, and of his religion in the militant pilgrimage of its fortunes, and of his book itself in the great volume of revelation!

On the whole, we would say, that only by approaching the Apocalypse as a sublime poem, as a work of faith and feeling and imagination, can one fully and fairly appreciate its power for the conscience. Unless so approached, it is a sealed book. So approaching it, we feel that the time is, indeed, at hand, and that its sayings are faithful and true. As Daniel, in closing one of his visions, said, "The vision of the evening and the morning which was told is true: wherefore shut thou up the vision; for it shall be for many days"; so John, in closing his vision, says, or represents his angel as saying, "These sayings are faithful and true: and the Lord God of the holy prophets sent his angel to show unto his servants the things which must shortly be done. Behold, I come quickly: blessed is he that keepeth the sayings of the prophecy of this book," — language, indeed, which may well remind us of the claims of the whole volume which these special revelations so happily complete. These sayings of the Apocalypse — its sublime spiritual sentences, as well as its searching moral monitions — *are* true and faithful, — faithful to the universal conscience of man, — faithful and true echoes of the hopes and the fears of every heart which has heard the sound of the prophetic word of Christ. To every thoughtful heart that has heard the voice of the Teacher of Nazareth, the gorgeous poetry and scenic life of the Apocalypse will not veil, so much as reveal, the momentous character of those profound and eternal realities which are too great to be represented in any other way than by being shadowed forth thus darkly, but powerfully, through allegory and parable. The seven churches will be perceived and felt to stand for all Christian churches in all ages of time; the struggles and successes of the faith, set forth with such a wealth of typical imagery, will be felt to represent what is still going on in the world; in the thunderings and lightnings that accompany the opening of the seals will be heard the warnings and be seen the sword-flashes of conscience, the avenging angel; and in all, the spirit will hear God talking with it, as with the voice of a trumpet, to awaken it from the sleep of lukewarmness, to encourage it amidst the conflict with trial and temptation, and to rouse it and keep it nerved to the strife for ever going on between "the lamb" and "the beast" in human society and in human character. Thus studied, St. John's great poem will make us feel the essential ugliness

of sin amidst all its borrowed charms, and the majesty of down-trodden righteousness. It will impress upon us, that Heaven is not indifferent to this great struggle between the bestial and the saintly in the world and in the hearts of men, — that God, and Jesus, and the spirits of just men made perfect are all on the side of struggling virtue and righteousness, — and that

> "Truth crushed to earth shall rise again;
> The eternal years of God are hers;
> While Error, wounded, writhes with pain,
> And dies amid her worshippers."

In reading and studying this Revelation, how thrillingly will the promise, sounded as through a trumpet, to him who overcometh, fall upon our ears! How will the rebuke pronounced against the dead-alive formalist smite our consciences. And how shall we yearn to be found among those arrayed in white robes, the hundred and forty-four thousand who sing the new song before the throne, who follow the true and faithful Captain in his triumphal march, and who enter in after him through the gates into the city!

Let no one be so thoughtless as to forget that the Apocalypse, poem though it be, reveals solid truths and solemn realities, which are only the more solemn and momentous, because they cannot be fully expressed in plain speech, and because the highest and profoundest imagery can but dimly shadow forth their vastness and eternal importance. John saw in vision "a great white throne," and "the dead, small and great, came to judgment." And where is the man who has not, even with our measure of the spirit, frequent glimpses, even through the glare and shadow of this world of anxiety and delusion, of that judgment-throne and of Him who sits on it, — that throne of awful and appalling whiteness and ghostliness to the spirit conscious of guilt, of lovely and peaceful whiteness and purity to the child-like and obedient? In vain would any man banish that throne out of sight for ever; let him so live, that it shall win, and not warn only, shall inspire solemnity, but not gloom.

We have only one more thought to suggest. The author of the Apocalypse speaks of "these things" as about to take place soon. How many have gone to the grave, and to the scenes beyond it, who in their life-time had heard much speculation and witnessed much fanaticism respecting the end of the world and the coming of Christ, and pleased them-

selves with the secret assurance that it would not take place till after their death! As if this very event of their death were comparatively of no account! As if this very event were not, to them, the great consummation and conflagration of all things! In view of the certainty and the swiftness of the coming of that event to every man, ought not every one to take to himself a meaning from those words, — "The time is at hand. He that is unjust, let him be unjust still; and he that is filthy, let him be filthy still; and he that is righteous, let him be righteous still; and he that is holy, let him be holy still"? What an impressive and awakening idea is here suggested of the importance of the present and passing moments! It is as if it were said, — The time is so short and swift, that, unless men do what they have to do *now*, they must go as they are. How true it is, that "now is the accepted time"! Let such be the burden of the Revelation of St. John, — the burden of that whole Scripture which it so beautifully and solemnly closes. C. T. B.

Art. VI. — THE PISCATAQUA ASSOCIATION OF MINISTERS.*

With the constant accumulation of (so called) new literature, the periodical that would assume the office of a retrospective review can do so only by ignoring the present; for it would be as idle to wait for a pause in the torrent-like issues of the press, as it was for Æsop's clown to tarry on the bank till the river had run by. But the publications named below recall the memory of a cluster of distinguished and venerable men, of whose worth and services we would make some inadequate record before the generation that knew them has wholly passed away. Probably the Piscataqua Association of Ministers at the close of the last and the beginning of the present century comprised more men of eminence in the pulpit, in council, and in the various walks of private duty, than any other similar association in the coun-

* 1. *Prayer-Book, for the Use of Families; prepared by the Association of Ministers on Piscataqua River, and recommended by them as an Assistant to the Social Devotions of Families.* Portsmouth. 1799. 12mo. pp. 72.

2. *The Piscataqua Evangelical Magazine for* 1805. Portsmouth. 8vo. pp. 240.

try. They were almost all of them picked men, such as, in the process of absorption and centralization which drains our rural districts of talent as well as wealth, in favor of the great cities, would now be found only in metropolitan parishes. They were sufficient, each of himself, to give a name and a character to the town which enjoyed his services, and to attract to his parsonage the frequent society of many of the best and most distinguished men in every walk of life. We have ample manuscript materials for the biography of one of the circle, and shall append to our sketch of his life brief notices of several of his contemporaries in the same neighbourhood.

In the historical pictures of the battle of Bunker's Hill, there is the figure of a clergyman in bands, and with the usual insignia of his sacred office. The person thus represented was the Rev. Samuel McClintock, D. D., of Greenland, N. H. He was born in Medford, Mass., in 1732. His father was one of the Scotch Irish whom manifold oppression had made twice exiles, and who have given race and name to not a few of the best families in New England. He was graduated at Princeton, in 1751, and was immediately invited by President Burr to a tutorship in his Alma Mater, which he declined, from an unwillingness to postpone his entrance on the profession to which he had consecrated himself from his early boyhood. In 1756 he was ordained at Greenland, a small and obscure country village, to which his chief attraction at first was the unanimous and earnest wish of the people that he should become their pastor; for he was among the most popular divines of his day, and had frequent intimations, both before his settlement and through the earlier half of his ministry, that situations offering much greater worldly advantages were at his disposal.

We have before us two of his printed and the few that remain of his no less than three thousand manuscript sermons, and have been surprised, not only by their general soundness of thought and purity of style, but by their freedom from the lumbering subdivisions, improvement, and application, then almost universal, and their near approach to the simpler models of our own day. A sermon of his, published at a time when an unprecedented drought, a fatal epidemic, and the prospect of war with France, conspired to make the hearts of the people heavy, maintains the thesis, that any direct infliction of Providence is preferable to those

judgments in which God makes the wrath of man his sword, with an affluence and brilliancy of argument and illustration, and a freedom from all theological technicalities, which we had supposed hardly compatible with the rigid pulpit formalism of our elder divines.

His ministry lasted forty-eight years, during which period the last Sunday of his life was the only one on which he was disabled for the performance of his usual public duties. His compensation was three hundred dollars a year, together with the use of a parsonage, and a farm so small as to preclude the employment of much labor other than his own, and that of the numerous "servants born in his house." On this scanty stipend he reared a family of sixteen children, maintained in full the external proprieties of his station in dress and housekeeping, and exercised an unstinted hospitality, — his house lying on the great thoroughfare of Eastern travel, and his professional reputation and his social endowments furnishing either a cause or a pretence for travellers who could proffer the remotest claim upon his notice to make his house their inn. To meet these demands, which with clergymen of the old school stood on the same footing with debts of honor, his strictly personal and domestic expenses were, of course, brought within the narrowest possible limits. The cow, not without large aid from the unfailing well, stood chief foster-mother to the younger members of the household. The errant goose equipped them for their first experiments in penmanship. As fast as garments waxed old, they were rejuvenated in contracted forms for younger and less fastidious wearers. And of the application of the same rigid economy to the father's own habits his manuscripts bear conclusive testimony, — the dozen sermons in our hands hardly covering the paper which we have sometimes devoted to a single discourse. But there was one point on which he was strenuous in effort and in sacrifice, — the education of his children. Through his influence, there was sustained in his parish for many years a permanent school, of a grade corresponding to those elsewhere found only in our populous and compact towns. The teacher was commonly a recent graduate from the University, of worth and promise, attracted to this obscure field of labor by the opportunity which it afforded of familiar intercourse with one so much revered and beloved. Among the young men who in this relation accounted themselves under great obligations to him for

counsel, example, and influence, were Dr. Belknap and Bishop Parker.

Dr. McClintock was regarded among the churches in his vicinity as preëminent for practical wisdom. Difficult questions of advice, cases of casuistry, conscientious scruples, were referred to him as an umpire; and, from the confidence that seems to have been reposed in him in those regards, his decisions must have generally justified themselves to the conscience and the experience of those whom they most intimately concerned. We should be disposed to form the same conclusion from the only one of his numerous written decisions of this kind which has fallen into our hands. The case was one of morbid conscientiousness on the part of a clergyman second in reputation to none in the country. He opened his heart to Dr. McClintock as to the Christian brother better able than any other to stand to him in his Master's stead, and the answer certainly could not be surpassed in faithfulness, tenderness, sound ethical reasoning, and mature religious wisdom. He was also noted for his promptness and pungency in rebuke. Cheerful in his habits of intercourse, and fond of wit and humor when within the bounds of decency and reverence, he had no tolerance for levity or profaneness. One day, overhearing an oath from a man of some distinction, whom he had heard a little while before declaiming against religious ostentation, he said to him, — "What! after what you said the other evening, do I hear you of all men making a parade of piety, and putting up your prayers at the corners of the streets?"

Dr. McClintock, in common with the clergy of New England generally, took a deep interest in the war of the Revolution, and repeatedly served as chaplain to portions of the New Hampshire troops. He had four sons actively engaged in the war. Three of them died before the establishment of peace; the other still lives, in his eighty-seventh year, in unabated vigor of body and mind, and in the full enjoyment of those resources of Christian faith and hope which embalm the heart in perpetual youth.

Except repeated bereavements, which were sustained with the most edifying submission, the only ripple in the smooth current of Dr. McClintock's life was a theological controversy with the Rev. J. C. Ogden, an Episcopal clergyman in Portsmouth, in 1787. Bishop Seabury, in his sermon at the ordination of Mr. Ogden, had broached certain

prelatical notions as to the Apostolic Succession, and the exclusive sanctity of the ritual and administration of his own church, which now are too common to awaken surprise, and too manifestly baseless to admit of a serious counter-argument, but which were then novel and alarming in a region where Episcopacy had long made itself, not repulsive by the arrogance, but amiable by the catholic spirit and the venerable piety of its only clerical representative. Dr. McClintock, in a letter to Mr. Ogden, meekly but firmly contended against the sentiments and postulates of the Bishop's sermon. His argument was met by an angry rejoinder, and when the correspondence reached the public through the press, the scales of victory inclined so manifestly against prelacy, as to dislodge its impetuous advocate from the confidence of his own parishioners, and to lead ultimately to his forcible ejection when he attempted to retain possession of the church in opposition to their unanimous vote.

At the annual Fast in 1804, Dr. McClintock preached as usual; but on his return to his house, told his family that he had entered the pulpit for the last time. A slight indisposition, under which he was then laboring, increased so rapidly as to terminate his life in eight days. His son and executor found among his father's papers written instructions which bade him destroy all his sermons except the few which he might wish to keep as a memorial of himself. He also requested that "his funeral might be conducted in the manner that was customary among his parishioners, without any sermon, or the parade which has commonly been the custom at the funerals of those who have sustained public characters in life," and that, should a head-stone be placed over his grave, it should be a plain one, with the following epitaph: — "To the memory of Samuel McClintock, D. D., who died ——, in the —— year of his age, and the —— year of his ministry. His body rests here in the certain hope of a resurrection to life and immortality, when Christ shall appear a second time to destroy the last enemy, death, and to consummate the great design of his mediatorial kingdom."

We shall enter into no detail of the equally uneventful, but equally faithful, devoted, and useful lives of the fraternity of pastors of which the venerable man of whom we have spoken was at the time of his decease the senior active member. A few years older, and at that time weighed down by bodily infirmity, was the Rev. Dr. Haven, of Portsmouth, who had

then exceeded his half-century of sanctuary service. Few men have left deeper traces of a spirit radiant with every Christian excellence, than still remain of him in the memory of those who knew him, and in traditions still fresh among those who knew him not. Eminent for vivacity of style, and for powers of oratory which led his partial friends to liken him to Whitefield, oftener called to officiate on important public occasions than almost any man of his day, he prepared still more precious memorials of his ministry by his then unexampled assiduity in pastoral duty. At a period when ministerial etiquette interposed distance, reserve, and pompous formalism between the clergyman and the humbler members of his flock, he assumed at once, and sustained through life, the most intimate relation with the poor and depressed. He knew, week by week, the measure of every scanty meal-barrel and the gauge of every wasting oil-cruise in his parish. From an income never large, and with a family hardly less numerous than filled the Greenland parsonage, he yet found means for a profuse liberality, and, during the straitened period of the Revolutionary struggle, kept himself almost penniless in rescuing those who were utterly so from beggary or starvation. There yet live those who speak of his unwearied kindness as all that stood between them and despair in the days of their early widowhood and desolation.

At his side, as minister of a sister church (between which and his the question of ecclesiastical priority had never been settled, but, after the local quarrel which made them twain had subsided, was waived by mutual consent), was the Rev. Dr. Buckminster, hardly less renowned than his lamented son. Those who heard him preach represent him as of unequalled pungency and power as a pulpit orator. He dealt largely in the "terrors of the Lord," and most of his sermons were in the form of earnest, awful appeals to the impenitent. Subject to periodical attacks of deep gloom, and with a theology by no means of a cheerful cast, he presented a strong contrast with the ministrations of his last-named brother, who confined himself, perhaps, too exclusively to topics of persuasion and motives of love. Yet he, too, knew how to win no less than to awe; and while his majesty of mien repressed familiarity, and conciliated for him reverence as for one almost superhuman, his private and his professional life were full of the fruits of the most unreserved self-sacrifice and overflowing charity. Probably no ministry in New England has been more

successful than his, both as to the outward growth and the religious prosperity and harmony of the flock under his charge.

Next to Portsmouth, "by the way of the sea," is Rye, where the Rev. Huntington Porter, brother of the late Dr. Porter of Roxbury, exercised a quiet and useful ministry for nearly sixty years. A feeble voice and a painful hesitancy in delivery rendered him perhaps the least popular preacher in the Association; but when, as his brother's heir, he had money to pay the printer, his half-century sermon and his farewell address on retiring from his parish apprised the public of the fact, that had always been whispered among the few who had the patience to listen to his lame oratory, that none of his brethren had surpassed him in richness of thought and beauty of style, and that his pen would have enhanced the most brilliant reputation among his coevals. He signalized himself for a long series of years by casting the one Federalist vote which broke the Republican unanimity of the place of his residence.

Just beyond him, at Hampton, the late President Appleton was settled towards the close of the last century. Suffice it to say of him, that it was on the score of reputation gained in that seemingly obscure sphere of duty, that his services were deemed essential to the growth and permanent well-being of the college over which he was chosen to preside.

Next to Hampton is Hampton Falls, why so called no one knows, as, from the evenness of the land and the consequent absence of *falls*, the inhabitants grind their corn in windmills. Here the venerable Paine Wingate, so long the senior graduate on the Harvard catalogue, was ordained as pastor shortly after he left college. His ministry was not of long duration, and he subsequently became distinguished as a politician and a jurist. At the time of his death, there was no one living who remembered him as a preacher; but tradition represents him to have been beyond measure dull and monotonous in his delivery, and there has been handed down a myth, according to which, "once upon a time," while he was administering an evangelical opiate of unusual efficacy, he succumbed himself to its power, and sank in gentle slumber on the pulpit-cushion. The same tradition, however, does ample honor to his excellent spirit and his pure and peaceful life in those days, "whereof the memory of man runneth not to the contrary"; while generations now on the stage remember him as the worthy representative of New Hampshire

in the national Senate during Washington's administration, as a firm and upright judge, and, when he had outlived all power of active duty, as still a meek and humble disciple, calmly awaiting his Master's ascension summons. One fact connected with his ministry deserves record. His manse was the Gretna Green for errant lovers from Massachusetts. Marriages were solemnized in the province of New Hampshire, before the Revolution, without the publication of the bans; and the bridegroom, to publish whose matrimonial plans was to dissipate them, had only to procure through the post-rider a license from Governor Wentworth (who asked no questions when he had the fee in hand), and then to seek with his bride the nearest minister beyond the province lines. We doubt whether the church records of some of our large city parishes present so numerous matrimonial entries from year to year as we have found under Mr. Wingate's hand in the few years of his ministry.

To this same parish of Hampton Falls Dr. Langdon retired, on his resignation of the Presidency of Harvard College. He was in early life the pastor of the North church in Portsmouth, and deemed second to no clergyman of his day in learning, eloquence, and piety. He yielded with the utmost reluctance to the invitation from Cambridge, and soon found cause to repent of his acceptance. His administration was during the stormy season of the Revolutionary war, when probably the college was absolutely ungovernable, on account of the overmastering power of extraneous causes of excitement and turmoil. However that may have been, he resigned his unruly charge after six years' trial, and closed his life as minister at Hampton Falls, bequeathing for the use of his successors in office a curious and valuable library, which still remains in the old parsonage. He was succeeded by the Rev. Jacob Abbot, a ripe scholar, a profound theologian, a highly acceptable preacher, weighty in counsel, and endowed with domestic and social virtues which can never pass away from the respectful and grateful remembrance of those who knew him.

On the New Hampshire side of the Piscataqua, to say nothing of the very respectable ministers of Newington and Durham, Dr. Belknap, as minister of Dover, was contemporary with almost all the clergymen whom we have named, and entered the ministry under the special auspices of Dr. McClintock, as also of Dr. Haven, who preached at his or-

dination. As by the recent publication of the Memoir of Dr. Belknap new and unenviable notoriety has been given to the undoubted fact, that he was absolutely starved out of Dover, it may not be amiss to bear testimony to the rare liberality and zeal now manifested in that same community in the support of religious institutions.

Within the precincts of this Association, also, was the Rev. Mr. Prince, of Barrington, a blind man, of liberal tastes, a highly cultivated intellect, and powers of oratory which rendered him one of the most popular and effective preachers of the day. There yet live many who remember the fervor, energy, and pathos of his pulpit eloquence at threescore years and ten, and his religious earnestness and ardor in the intercourse of private life.

On the Maine side of the Piscataqua, there was, at Kittery-point, the seat of Sir William Pepperell, the Rev. Dr. Stevens (the maternal grandfather of Joseph Stevens Buckminster), of whom the few who can remember him speak with the profoundest admiration and reverence. In another parish of Kittery, the Rev. Paul Litchfield, a Harvard graduate of 1775, closed his half-century of service, and his life, within the familiar recollection of multitudes now living. Finding himself the pastor of a poor flock, able to contribute very little to his maintenance, and principally engaged in fishing, he, too, made the Apostolic calling of a fisherman something more than a pastime, and probably in that capacity received double the revenue which accrued to him as a fisher of men. These habits of toil, assumed of necessity, but continued from choice after he was able to invest in his favorite business a larger capital than any of his parishioners, of course did not suffer him to be a student or an accomplished writer. Indeed, he was wont to complain bitterly of the labor of preparation for the pulpit, saying that he always commenced it early on Saturday evening, and often outsat his family a whole hour. But he was a diligent observer of character, a man of ready wit and retentive memory ; and while his own flock deemed themselves losers by his best exchanges, his quaint homilies, full of sturdy good-sense and weighty religious thought, pervaded all the while by a vein of quiet humor and unaffected oddity, made him welcome as an occasional preacher among the most cultivated and fastidious congregations in his neighbourhood.

Just above him on the river, at Elliot, was a man who

needed only a worthy biographer to have rivalled the fame of Oberlin. It was the Rev. Samuel Chandler, a Cambridge graduate of 1790. He, too, found himself among a fishing population, poor, indolent, and thriftless. There was not a garden, or a well-tilled farm, in the town. The people earned just enough from the water to meet their wants on the lowest scale of necessity, and during a large portion of the year lounged, slept, or drank the hours away. The land afforded, at best, only a scanty crop of potatoes, or grass enough to keep the breath of life in the skeletons of their proverbially lean cattle. Mr. Chandler saw at once, that, without a change in the direction of industry, there was no hope of either the physical or moral amelioration of the community. He inclosed and planted for himself a small garden, and commenced raising vegetables for the Portsmouth market. He encouraged his neighbours to do the same, taught them how to dress and till their land to the best advantage, gave them seeds, and rendered them his personal aid in all delicate and difficult horticultural operations. Thus, in a few years, every fisherman's house had its garden for show and use, for taste and revenue, while, through the same skilful advice and superintendence, the effete soil of the small farms in the parish was reclaimed and made productive. The men continued to lead amphibious lives ; but the hardest work could, most of it, be done before the best fishing season opened ; and the charge of preparing vegetables for the market devolved upon the women, who conveyed them to Portsmouth in boats, officiating as their own *oarsmen*, and skirting the eddies and stemming the currents of the rapid Piscataqua with an adroitness worthy the wives of a race of sea-kings. There is still a market in Portsmouth at which these merwomen preside, and we know not where to look for evidences of more universal comfort and prosperity than are to be found among their homes. But while their good pastor wrought this revolution in their outward estate, he was not less diligent in his "cure of souls." He led his people on to a high standard (considering what they had been) of intelligence and religious character. He was their sole lawyer and judge, leaving no quarrel unreconciled, and plucking up all roots of bitterness before they had time to grow. He retained his scholarly habits, was deemed a sound theologian and a highly edifying preacher. The gratitude and devotion of his people knew no bounds. During his last sickness, his

doors were perpetually besieged by crowds, and a brother minister, who visited him, told us, that, had they all been his children, they could not have manifested deeper solicitude, or more poignant grief when the last ray of hope had faded; and now, after an interval of twenty years, it is affecting to mark the tenderness with which they speak his name and tell the unfailing story of his kindness and his excellence.

Did our limits permit, we might add to our catalogue of worthies Lyman of York, the ancestor of the families of that name so well known in this city, — Langton, in another parish of York, a man of a singularly pure and gentle spirit, — Miltimore of Stratham, afterwards a highly esteemed pastor in Newbury, Mass., — and others not less valued for talents and virtues, who needed only a more conspicuous theatre to have given them names which would not have been, as now, the exclusive property of local tradition and minute antiquarianism.*

The Piscataqua Association embraced twenty-two churches. Its members were not content with the social enjoyment and personal improvement that attended their meetings, but were constantly devising liberal counsels for the benefit of the Christian public at large. The manual of family devotion named at the head of this article was their joint work, and is believed to be the first publication of the kind that issued from the American press. Reprinted almost without change, it would compare advantageously (except in bulk, and we should not be disposed to admit even that exception) with the best similar works of the kind now in current use. They established also the "Piscataqua Evangelical Maga-

* Just beyond the territorial limits of this Association, but virtually belonging to it by his habits of the closest intimacy with its members, was Rev. Dr. Hemmenway, for more than half a century the minister of Wells, Me. He was generally regarded as the most learned and profound divine in New England, as to theological dogmatics and metaphysics. He published a great deal on controverted topics, and was deemed the chief champion of old-fashioned Calvinism against Arminianism on the one hand, and Hopkinsianism on the other. Dr. Buckminster, in preaching his funeral sermon, applies to him the cavil against St. Paul, that "his bodily presence was mean and his speech contemptible"; and, among many similar anecdotes, it is related, that, on one occasion, the members of Dr. Buckminster's own family, not recognizing the angel of the church in Wells, in a guise most unclerically shabby, sent him into the kitchen to await his friend's return. His sermons are said to have been hard to hear and to understand; but his devotional exercises were fervent and edifying, his pastoral duties were most assiduously and lovingly discharged, and his ministry was regarded as eminently successful and prosperous.

zine," issued once in two months, which was, as we suppose, the earliest religious periodical on this side of the Atlantic, and which, to say the least, is in no respect inferior to the "Christian Disciple" for the first few years of its existence, and in its uniformly mild, gentle, and catholic spirit, and its elevation of practical Christianity above matters of doubtful disputation, presents the broadest possible contrast to the "Panoplist." They formed, too, the Piscataqua Missionary Society, for the aid of destitute churches within and beyond their limits, at a period when domestic missions had received very little attention in any of our churches, and some years prior to any other missionary organization of equal extent and efficiency.

These good men solved in practice a problem to which we have lost the key, that of harmony of spirit and cordial cooperation among ministers of widely differing creeds. McClintock, Buckminster, Stevens, and Langton were Calvinists, yet with none of the asperities of Calvinism. Belknap and Porter were professed Arminians. Haven and Lyman were also Arminians, and both were known to sympathize strongly with Chauncy in his scheme of Restorationism. Litchfield, Chandler, Abbot, and the late Dr. Parker, who was a member of the Association till 1820, made no secret of their rejection of the doctrine of the Trinity. Yet they lived together in the most fraternal union, and no note of discord ever broke in upon their deliberations. We are told that these points of difference were openly avowed and freely discussed at their meetings; but they felt that they had in common a broad ground of faith and field of effort, in which they could be each other's helpers, and that their varying interpretations of matters not necessarily involving the claims of Christian duty were not sufficient to break their bond of loving fellowship.

Do our readers ask the present condition of the parishes once so highly favored? So long as the exclusive spirit was held in check, and the influence of the united body of pastors was felt in every flock, most of these parishes remained undivided and prosperous. But so soon as the brotherhood was broken, and the reputed heretics were set aside by the self-styled Orthodox, marks of decline and decay became visible throughout the whole region. The two Portsmouth parishes, and those at Dover and Exeter, from the necessity of their situation, are still strong and flourishing; but it is believed that these are the only ones within the old limits of the

Association that were not essentially enfeebled in consequence of the intrusion of sectarianism. Some of them are utterly extinct, the old spires still towering over churches that have become shattered and untenantable ruins. Others, shorn of three fourths of their former strength, number as many pastors as years, and keep a new minister only long enough for him "to see the nakedness of the land." A few retain a somewhat more vigorous, yet still a spasmodic and flickering vitality. In Hampton Falls, a little remnant, retaining more of the characteristics of an old New England country parish than we can elsewhere find, in union with a similarly small and feeble remnant in an adjoining town, not without generous aid from abroad, sustain the institutions of the Gospel under Liberal ministrations. In all these parishes, there are still those who bear regretful memory of better days, and would gladly do their utmost to sustain forms of religious worship and instruction which would not exclude them from the altar and their children from the baptismal font. We doubt whether there is a region of like extent in New England on which Calvinism has so feeble a hold. Indifference and irreligion have, indeed, made fearful progress in some portions of this territory ; but a large part of the responsibility for these evils must needs rest upon the system of things, unknown to an earlier generation, by which no indulgence is shown to honest difference, and a Procrustean creed is made the only standard of piety. It is a field in which Christians of liberal opinions are so much scattered, nay, are so sadly thinned by death, and their places supplied by those whom the division and desolation of the churches have nurtured in indifference, that we can hardly hope at present for the establishment to any extent of such ministrations as we deem most accordant with the simplicity of the Gospel. Meanwhile the Methodists, and the more liberal sects of Baptists, are doing much, and, we trust, will be enabled to do much more, towards "building the old wastes, and raising up the former desolations." A. P. P.

Art. VII. — CATHOLIC AND PROTESTANT MISSIONS.*

Whatever may be thought of the character of Christians, and the success or failure of their efforts to carry forward their religion to the fulfilment of its predictions, there can be but one opinion of the magnitude of the work, or the vast amount of life and treasure devoted to its accomplishment. We are apt to mourn, if not to murmur, at the apathy of Christ's followers, their selfishness and sloth, their unfaithfulness to the Master and distance from the mark, the narrow limits of the kingdom and the exceeding slowness of its advance. And reason enough is there for sorrow and humiliation; imperfection, inconsistency, and wickedness enough is there within the kingdom itself, so called, within the very pale of the Church, in the hearts and lives of avowed disciples. Looking at the religion as it stands in its record and its Lord, looking at the commission given and the object proposed, the powers and means possessed, yet the little absolutely accomplished, the view is dark, the thought oppressive. We wonder not that those "of little faith" stumble, that those of no faith cavil, or that impatient believers look round for some new agencies, a new order of society, or a different administration of religion. It is easy, by fixing the mind on failure and evil alone, to work ourselves up to any degree of disappointment or despondency. But is this a Christian view? Is it reasonable, in consideration of our nature, the nature of the work, the providence of God, or the actual results already seen? Even if these results were far less distinct and beneficent than they

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* 1. *Oregon Missions, and Travels over the Rocky Mountains, in* 1845, 46. By Father P. J. De Smet, of the Society of Jesus. New York: Edward Dunigan. 1847. 12mo. pp. 408.

2. *The United States Catholic Magazine, and Monthly Review.* The official organ of the Most Rev. Archbishop of Baltimore, and the Right Rev. Bishop of Richmond; and published with the approbation of the Right Rev. Bishops of the United States. Edited by Rev. Charles I. White, D. D., Baltimore, and V. Rev. M. J. Spalding, D. D., Louisville. 1847. 8vo.

3. *A Residence of Twenty-one Years in the Sandwich Islands; or, the Civil, Religious, and Political History of those Islands.* By Hiram Bingham, A. M., Member of the American Oriental Society, and late Missionary of the American Board. Hartford and New York. 1847. 8vo. pp. 616.

4. *Memoir of William G. Crocker, late Missionary in West Africa among the Bassas, including a History of the Bassa Mission.* By R. B. Medbery, Newburyport, Ms. Boston. 1848. 18mo. pp. 300.

5. *Memoir of Sarah B. Judson, Member of the American Mission to Burmah.* By "Fanny Forester." New York. 1848. 18mo. pp. 250.

are, and though it be said that they are not yet tested and by many are disputed, we would still maintain that the efforts themselves, the zeal, the liberality, the self-sacrifice, the unwearied and constantly extended enterprise, in the grand work of converting the world to Christ, are evidence of strong faith, and must bring a blessing to their authors, if to no others.

Our attention is called to the subject now by the simultaneous appearance of many publications, Catholic and Protestant, touching every portion of the vast missionary field, and suggesting as well as answering many inquiries as to veritable facts and positive results. The works whose titles we have given make but a small part of those recently published of similar character. And not only works which treat directly and exclusively of missions, but books of travels, of scientific research, of general literature, biography, and fiction, have entered this province to a greater or less degree, and thrown light upon many of the most interesting points. Among these might be mentioned the five large volumes of the "United States Exploring Expedition," and the lighter productions of Melville, to both of which we shall have occasion to refer. It is rather singular that the last named works, "Typee" and "Omoo," whose character, as fact or fiction, has been a matter of question, are taken up by the Catholics as authority, and made the groundwork of a new attack upon Protestant missions. At the same time, the Catholics themselves are making new efforts, and sending out new publications and professions, with reference to the propagation of their faith in this country and abroad. Not attempting to go over the whole field, nor wishing to take sides in the controversy, we propose to give some idea of the facts of the case, as they stand in the publications themselves, and to refresh our own, possibly our readers', acquaintance with the extent and progress of the great missionary enterprise.

The history of modern missions, we suppose, may be confined within the last three hundred years. It was in the year 1534 that Loyola induced Xavier, with four others, to take the vows of poverty and chastity, resolving upon a pilgrimage to the holy sepulchre, and then the entire devotion of themselves to the conversion of infidels. When John III., of Portugal, a few years after, applied to Loyola for a missionary who should convert his subjects in India, Xavier was ordained for that great work. The zeal and success with which he devoted himself to the work for ten years, at Goa,

Malacca, Ceylon, Cochin, and Japan, baptizing, as Bourdaloue says, "a million of pagans," who are reported to have all remained faithful, and ending his life just as he was about to carry his faith into China, are well known. The miracles ascribed to him, we observe, are still maintained, even by as sober writers as Dr. Wiseman, who, in his volume of Lectures recently published, labors to show that the "Catholic Rule of Faith," for the conversion of the heathen, has always been sustained by the special favor of God, and the "Protestant Rule" as invariably proved to be false and futile. This singular assumption, put forth as a matter of fact as well as faith, we shall presently consider. In 1622, nearly a century after the mission of Xavier, the "Congregation of the Propaganda" was founded at Rome, by Gregory XV., followed by a similar "College for Chinese" at Naples. We are surprised to see the statement of Wiseman, — a statement not sustained by all writers, — that the missionaries educated and sent out by the Propaganda do not amount to ten in a year. He insists, also, that the common opinion of the great wealth of this institution is wholly erroneous; pronouncing it poorer than many of the missionary societies in England, its annual income not reaching £30,000, out of which the expense of educating over a hundred individuals has to be defrayed, before any part is used for other purposes. Be this as it may, we find the followers of Loyola, those world-renowned missionaries, increasing in sixty years from ten members to ten thousand; and at the beginning of the last century, about the time of the first organized efforts by Protestants for sending the Gospel into "foreign parts," the association of Jesuits numbered twenty thousand sworn adherents and devoted agents. And if devotion and discipline, if absolute subjection and prompt obedience to a system of rules religiously despotic, if unwearied toil and unshrinking self-sacrifice, if piety seemingly as devout and tried as any can be, with a policy which chose for its motto the Apostle's words, freely interpreted, — *Omnia omnibus*, — if these were all that is wanted for the furtherance of the Gospel throughout the earth, it would seem sure to be accomplished by the "Society of Jesus." Much was accomplished, and in nearly every part of the earth, civilized and savage. Though Xavier was permitted only to get a glimpse of the vast empire of China, which his soul burned to possess, his immediate successors, Ricci, Scholl, and others, soon passed the barrier,

overcame all obstacles, and by their varied learning, ready tact, and untiring perseverance, advanced by degrees even to the high places of power, finding a disciple in the Empress herself, and in the Emperor an open patron. Nor in China only. Their missionaries and stations were soon found in Persia and Syria, in Egypt, Morocco, Mozambique, and Abyssinia; one of their order, in the last-named country, being actually made patriarch of the national church for a time, though soon deposed for his abuse of power, and driven away, with all his followers.

To this fact, the want of permanence in the Jesuit stations, and the early and total exclusion of the order from places where they seemed strongly established, we would direct attention. It is a remark of Kip, the writer of "Early Jesuit Missions in North America," noticed in this journal the last year,* that "there is not a recorded instance of their permanency, or their spreading each generation wider and deeper, like our own missions in India." If this be so, it is a more singular and instructive fact than the first power and rapid progress of these propagandists. In their power and progress we see no miracle or marvel. No form of religion can we conceive better calculated to strike the imagination and impress the senses, especially of the heathen devotee or the superstitious savage. Nor does this fact itself prove a corrupt faith or an unworthy motive. It results from a principle of our nature, and is seen in the educated as well as the ignorant. The power of the Romish faith is not to be ascribed to ignorance, in priest or populace. No faith has intrenched itself more in college and seminary of every grade. None has contributed more to the acquisition or preservation of learning. Not in the Dark Ages alone, but in the revival of letters and religion, the Catholics were always ready to use every advantage given them by a decline of interest or energy in Protestant education. To this, indeed, does Ranke ascribe the check of the Reformation, and its partial retrogression; a consideration to be well weighed by those who wonder at the alleged progress of Romanism at the present moment. Compare the time and cost of an education for the Catholic priesthood now with the easy terms and meagre qualifications by which almost any one may enter the Protestant ministry, with the entire absence, indeed, and the continued disparagement, of education, in many classes of Protestants, and, what

* *Christian Examiner* for May, 1847, p. 360.

is far worse, the diminished, rather than increased, importance attached to a learned ministry, by some who have encouraged and required it most. Compare the efforts now made by Catholics in the vast new domains of our own country, their institutions of learning, their large benefactions, and complete organization, with the almost total neglect of these among Christians who profess to rely most on reason, intelligence, and free inquiry. The fact is indisputable, that the Catholic Church of all periods has exceeded every other in its faithful education of the young; with the added distinction, and wise policy, of extending education to doctrines and morals, as well as mind. And this is one simple explanation of its success.

There are other explanations, some of which seem to us to account for success at first, and also for the want of permanence of which we have spoken. One of these is to be found in the nature and seal of conversion with the Catholic. It is nearly all comprised in baptism. Not only is this the regenerating ordinance, but it is one for which very little preparation is necessary. We now speak only of missions, and we take the accounts of the missionaries themselves. Here is a volume before us, the first named at the head of this article, giving the latest accounts of their missions on our own continent. It is a beautiful volume of more than four hundred pages, from the pen of one of the Society of Jesus, a man evidently of deep and disinterested piety, who, with a few fellow-laborers, devotes two years to the hard task of converting the wild tribes who roam over the vast Oregon territory. This territory, about seven hundred and fifty miles in length, and five hundred broad, his Holiness, Gregory XVI., as we are here told, "on the first of December, 1843, erected into an apostolic vicariate," afterwards divided into eight dioceses. There is something ludicrous, we cannot refrain from saying, in this idea of a man in Rome, called a pope, marking off, on a given day, an immense portion of the American continent as his spiritual property, and giving it in charge to his appointed ministers. And yet, however strange, such appropriation rises into moral grandeur and Christian glory, compared with the former mode of planting the standard of conquest upon the new territory, and subjecting its original occupants to servitude or the sword. Only offers of love and tidings of joy does Father De Smet bear to the aborigines. He finds

among them a few obscure traditions, but no forms of religion, and scarcely any trace of worship. He endures privations and hardships, exposes himself to great dangers, establishes three colleges and eighteen chapels, is joined by twenty-five other ministers and missionaries, most of them of the order of Jesuits, and, out of the one hundred and ten thousand Oregon Indians, reports, in a short time, "upwards of six thousand converted to the true faith."

Now, without meaning to derogate from the spiritual value of this mission, of which no man can judge, and without raising a question in regard to motives, we look at the mode of measuring results. And the principal mode, unquestionably, is the outward administration of baptism. This is constantly spoken of in these pages as the act of regeneration, and was evidently regarded by the proselytes, if not by the priests, as all-sufficient. A chief says to one of the missionaries: — "If the sacred water will cause us to see the Great Master after death, baptize all our camp; perform this charity, for they nearly all die." In this instance, the missionary, Bolduc, was engaged from morning to night in baptizing, and then says, — "The new Christians numbered one hundred and ten." And still this same man closes his report by the candid confession: — "If, to be a Christian, it were but necessary to know some prayers and sing canticles, there is not one among them who would not adopt the title; but a capital point still to be gained is a reformation of morals. As soon as we touch this chord, their ardor is changed into indifference." This is as true of the civilized as of the savage; true, and often seen, among all Christians. And yet Christian teachers, Catholic and Protestant, insist far less upon "a reformation of morals" than upon doctrines and forms. This inconsistency is most glaring, and the evil must be greatest among ignorant and debased heathen. But we see no evidence that the inconsistency is avoided there, or the evil guarded against. On the contrary, they seem more common and palpable there than in any other connection, particularly in these Oregon missions. The assurance is given, that "they were regenerated in the holy waters of baptism," — that "thousands of beads were offered up to God and his august mother," — that "the sign of the cross was made by the young and dying children." Miracle, likewise, is said to be wrought in the gift of spiritual and temporal blessings, — "three hundred deer be-

coming the prey of the hunters in one day," because of the burning of their idolatrous images. But little is told of moral renovation or permanent good, and the want of these is frankly confessed. Some encouraging changes are recorded, and an impression has been evidently made upon the Indians generally, in favor both of the character of the missionaries and the superiority of the Christian religion; which is more than can always be said of either Catholic or Protestant missions.

An acknowledgment is here to be made, and we make it gladly. In none of the recent reports of Catholic labors for the propagation of the Gospel do we see that principle or practice of vicious "accommodation," so common in the earlier missions, especially the Jesuit. With the revival of the order from its decline and dissolution, we hope that this, its worst feature, will not revive. Though no Christians, we fear, can boast entire exemption from like weakness and error, there is too much reason for the common opinion which makes Jesuitism almost synonymous with the odious maxim, "The end sanctifies the means." Against Loyola and Xavier we are not aware that the charge has been brought, or can be justly. But if history may be trusted, those of their order who first entered China conformed to the dress and habits of the native priests, in a way that expressed neither principle nor wisdom, and had soon to be abandoned. They are said to have allowed their converts to continue their worship of Confucius, provided they concealed upon the altar a crucifix as the object of their secret homage. The Romanists themselves, at home, accused these missionaries of preaching Christ glorified only, keeping out of sight and out of the way the offence of Christ crucified. Grosser forms of prevarication, and abominable acts of conformity, are charged upon the missionaries in India, and also in South America; some of them hard to be believed, yet fully authorized by many of the permissions of mental reservation found in the books of the order. Do not these things go far to explain, at once, their early and rapid success, and their equally signal decline, — in some cases, their total banishment from countries which they had begun to claim as their own? The terrible persecution which drove them utterly from Japan, dooming thousands to the most dreadful deaths, and closing the country against all approach of Christian teachers ever since, — their expulsion from South America, where they had toiled and suffered

with heroic constancy, often unto death, — their loss of power in China, denounced by the government that at first cherished them, and compelled to work in secret for a time, — their suppression even in Spain, Portugal, and France, where they received some of the deadliest thrusts in the house of their friends, — and the final extinction of the order by the edict of sovereign power at Rome, — are to be ascribed in part, no doubt, to political causes, but still more to moral. The political involved the moral. Lust of power and gain, petty traffic, low cunning, bold casuistry, and frequent licentiousness, present a sad contrast to the conduct and character of the founder of the Jesuits, and his first associates. We behold with admiration the fortitude of the early Iroquois martyrs, and the beautiful purity and fidelity of Catherine, the Iroquois saint, bearing witness to the faith and power of Loyola in our own savage wilderness. But we are strangely confounded, when we read that the Iroquois converts stipulated, in a treaty of peace in 1682, for the removal of those licentious brethren, the Jesuits, "who did every thing that Jesus did not do." Facts like these (allowing for probable exaggeration) ought at least to moderate the pretensions of Romanists, and check their constant insinuations and open assaults on the best Protestant missions, in reference to moral character and actual results.

To Protestant missions we now turn. Their extent, their effects, the zeal that has moved, and the sacrifice that has attended them, have commonly been placed far below those of the Catholic Church. The latter, it may be, have not been overrated. But the former, we are sure, have been underrated. Any thing like an exact comparison is as useless as it is difficult. We do not attempt it. We desire only to be just. And we fear we have not been just, as a general fact, either to the missionary cause itself, or the character and result of Protestant efforts.

The period of these missions covers the last century and a half. The first "Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts" was formed in London, in 1701, and at the last account we have seen, had about three hundred stations, and two hundred and fifty ordained missionaries, in India, Africa, and Australia. The Society in Scotland for "Propagating Christian Knowledge" was instituted in 1709, but the extent of its operations we do not learn. In 1741, the "United Brethren," or Moravians, began their

noble enterprise, their entire congregation not then exceeding six hundred persons; yet in ten years, their heralds were found in Greenland, St. Croix, Surinam, and Rio de Berbice; in Lapland, Tartary, Algiers, Guinea, and Ceylon; among the Indians of North America, and the negroes of South Carolina; and now they are all over the world, counting two hundred and eighty-two missionaries, and sixty-five thousand converts. The Wesleyan Methodists, virtually a society of missionaries always, in 1786 extended their operations to the West Indies, and now are employing about three hundred and seventy laborers, in Europe, Africa, and North America, sending out the Scriptures in fourteen languages. The English "Baptist Missionary Society," organized in 1792, has over seventy missionaries in India, Africa, and the West Indies, issuing the Bible in forty languages, and numbering thirty thousand communicants. In 1795, the "London Missionary Society" was formed, intended to comprise all denominations, and sending agents to all parts of the world. In 1801, the "Church Missionary Society" arose in England, and sustains at this time about a hundred preachers, in the East, Africa, and America, dispensing tracts and the Scriptures in fifteen languages. These are the leading societies abroad, though others might be named among the French Protestants and German Evangelicals.

In America, Brainerd entered the field as early as 1743, followed by other devoted laborers, until, in 1810, the "American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions" was organized in Boston; their Report of the last year gives one hundred and forty ordained missionaries, with one hundred and ninety-three female helpers, and various other laborers, at ninety-six different stations; their churches contain twenty-five thousand four hundred and forty-one members; and they issue the Scriptures and various tracts in thirty languages. The "American Baptist Board of Foreign Missions" was formed in 1814, and has over eighty principal stations, and three thousand communicants. The "American Episcopal Society" was instituted in 1820, the "American Episcopal Methodist" about the same time, and the "American Presbyterian" in 1831; and have planted their agencies in India, China, Greece, Africa, North and South America, and other parts, to a greater extent than can easily be stated. In all, there are in Great Britain and America seven very large, and seven small missionary asso-

ciations, employing at present about fifteen hundred preachers and teachers, at twelve hundred central stations, in various parts of the world. These missions together report one hundred and eighty thousand converts in Christian communion, and two hundred thousand children and adults belonging to their schools. The annual income of all the associations together amounts to about £505,000, of which four fifths are contributed by British Christians, and one fifth by American. For these facts and figures we rely mainly on Harris's "Great Commission"; and though they do not profess to be more than approximations to the exact truth, they are believed to be sufficiently accurate to give a just idea of the means and magnitude of Protestant missions. They show that Protestants are not indifferent to the worth of their religion, nor open to the charge of apathy and entire selfishness in regard to the duty of carrying it to "all nations." We think it can also be shown that their labors and benefactions are not utterly wasted.

This is the great vital question in regard to missions, — Are they fruitless? Wholly fruitless we know they are not. But how far are they productive of that at which they aim? What proportion do their substantial, spiritual results bear to the immense expenditure of time, strength, wealth, life, and the means of doing good in other ways? It is a fair question, and one of which the friends and supporters of missions should never complain. They do not complain of it, we believe, when put in the right temper. There is a spirit of questioning and of cavil, of infidelity and calumny, of which they have reason to complain. There are imputations of motive and misrepresentations of fact, exaggerations of fault and failure, and sometimes gross allegations, which must be ascribed to one of two causes, — a very partial knowledge of the state of the case, or the loss of gainful traffic and sensual indulgence, to which all missionary efforts and advancement are opposed. We are perplexed, but not surprised, by the conflicting statements as to actual results. Not only have men very different rules by which to measure religious results, but they have also different eyes and ears, different powers of observation, depending upon mental and moral culture, interest, opportunity, prepossession, and inclination. Who is surprised at the unfavorable account which the crew of a whaleman or merchantman may give of the state of an island in the Pacific, where before they have

always found a ready market for their rum, an easy exchange of toys for food or treasure, and facilities for all manner of license, — none of which can they now obtain, because of the influence of the missionaries? Who would trust the impressions or the statements of a man, acting like Percival at Honolulu, in 1826, intimidating the native chiefs into a repeal of the law which prohibited women from visiting the ships in the harbour, and obtaining by force of arms the indulgence of the basest passions? There are men whose opposition to missions is so natural, as to be less surprising than would be their approbation.

But while great allowance is made for these influences, some must be made for the opposite. The friends, as well as the enemies, of missions may be blinded by prepossession, and be too credulous of all that favors them. To one danger particularly are they exposed; that of judging of success too hastily, and then setting a single instance of success against all known or possible failure. One soul, it is said, is of more value than millions of money, or thousands of mortal lives. True; but does it follow that the money and the lives should be expended on a single soul, if they could be made, in some other way, to secure the salvation of many souls? We are bound not only to act for a good end, but to use the best means. We are accountable for the best possible use of all the treasure, opportunity, and power of every kind, committed to us by God or man. If the time and means employed in the conversion of one heathen abroad would probably, almost certainly, convert ten at home, there may be a question of duty with the most devout and self-sacrificing Christian. A question, we say; for with us it is not decisive. It is still possible that that one conversion abroad may do more good than the ten at home; while it is certain that the ten at home *might* be secured without the loss of the one abroad. We do not see that foreign missions need to exclude domestic, or that they actually do; for those who are most generous for the former are usually most generous also for the latter. Nor do we often discover a special interest in any kind of religious action, where there is total indifference to the momentous duty of regenerating and evangelizing the world. And yet, we must own, it is difficult to feel *assured* that this immense expenditure of life and treasure in distant and doubtful enterprise is authorized by the unquestionable spiritual results. In cases

where life is all but sure to be sacrificed, from climate, hardship, or hostility, and where lives have been sacrificed repeatedly, we could not feel authorized to expose either ourselves or others. It is not a question of willingness to die, but of duty to live. It is not the weighing of souls against suffering or selfishness, but the weighing of our power and responsibility for the salvation of souls. We do not wonder, that, in regard to African missions, for example, the Baptist Board here refuse to urge or even advise any one to go, unless inwardly and irresistibly impelled. When we read such accounts of the "Bassa Mission" as are given in the excellent Memoir of Crocker before us, and follow in him one of the noble apostles who have fought and fallen in that pestilential clime, — when we witness the sufferings of his devoted wife, whose death he records in the same letter that tells of their marriage, — when we turn to Burmah, another sphere of peril, and read the affecting biography of the second Mrs. Judson, written by still another, offering herself in the same sacrifice and service of their faith, — tender women, forsaking all and bearing all for Christ and the heathen, subject to every privation, enduring the greatest hardships, bringing children into life only to lay them in the dust, following their husbands everywhere to bury or leave them alone, or, again, doomed to weep and mourn over the seemingly small result of all their toil and trial, how can we help asking whether this is indeed the end to which Christ and God, nature, family, and destiny, call them? And yet, again, we are moved to exclaim, — "Better, infinitely better, thus to live and die, than to live for nothing, and be dead in sin! Who would not rather see a wife, sister, or daughter thus toiling, suffering, and dying, for the soul and eternity, than see them, like so many of the fair and accomplished around us, unconscious of the purpose of life and its accountableness, creatures of frivolity, slaves of fashion, or worse degradation?"

To judge of the effect of missions, we must take a single field, as a complete survey is impracticable. And the most definite field is that of the Sandwich Islands. It is also a fair test, both from the time that the experiment has taken, and the difficulties it has had to encounter. More, too, has been written on this than on any other. The works of Stewart, Ellis, Jarves, and Dibble are known. Yet the last may not be familiar to our readers, and should be here no-

ticed, because it was published by the press of the "Mission Seminary," at Lahainaluna, and is a well-printed volume of nearly five hundred pages, written by one who had lived there several years as a teacher. It is an interesting volume, — more, however, from its subject-matter than from its literary merits; and it seems to us not wholly to have avoided the error, to which most of these works incline, of partiality and a kind of one-sidedness. The most free from this of any we have read is the new and large book of Hiram Bingham; larger than any that preceded it, and larger than it ought to be. Its arrangement and execution have disappointed us. It lacks animation, and is sometimes heavy. Yet it contains a vast amount of information; it comes from a man not only acquainted, but connected, with the whole history of the Mission; and all he writes, and all we know of him, incline us to respect and trust him. He writes modestly, with every opportunity of knowledge, and with the appearance of perfect fairness. His devotion and disinterestedness have been abundantly proved. After twenty-one years of arduous toil, with exposure, obstacles, and perils of various kinds, he comes home in actual indigence (not that he says it, but that we know it, and think it should be said in reply to charges often brought against missionaries), writes this large book while he remains to watch the decline of her who has shared all his labors, and now that she has just been transferred to a higher sphere, turns his wistful eyes toward his far-off home in the ocean. That home, since he first saw it, has been totally changed; and even if the triumph of pure religion there could be disputed, the presence and power of social, civil, and moral renovation are beyond question. From this volume, and several others, we offer a condensed view of the material facts.

The first company of missionaries, consisting of Rev. Asa Thurston and Rev. Hiram Bingham, with five teachers and helpers, their wives, and three native youths from the islands, who had been partially educated here, sailed from Boston, October 23d, 1819. These fourteen pioneers, of whom six of the women and four men still live, arrived at the Hawaiian Islands on the 30th of March, 1820; and to their unutterable surprise and gratitude, found that the way had been signally prepared for their reception. Explain it as we may, the fact will always remain prominent and remarkable, that during this first approach of the heralds of the

Gospel, the last battle for idolatry was fought by the very people to whom they were going, the defenders of idols were vanquished, and the defeated and now despised gods thrown into the sea, or cast "to the bats and the moles." Not that Christianity had done this, for it was scarcely known there. Cook, who in 1778 madly provoked his own death, left no favorable impression of the Christian character. Vancouver, in 1792, produced a far more agreeable and beneficial effect, but died too soon to make it permanent. It had, however, with other causes, awakened the islanders to some sense of the intolerable civil and religious despotism in which they were living under the power of the "tabu"; a word meaning *sacred*,* and defining a system of superstition and law, by which every thing to which the word was attached was forbidden to be used by any but the gods, the priests, or the rulers, death being the penalty of the slightest infraction. Recently, owing perhaps to the example and growing influence of foreigners, the law had been violated by some natives of distinction, and the act, not being visited by the expected vengeance of the gods, led to other violations, and soon to open defiance. Then parties were formed under the opposite champions of idolatry and liberty, war ensued, victory rested with the daring innovators, and the reign of the "forty thousand deities," which they had so long worshipped and feared, was over. The first sounds that greeted Bingham and his associates, from the new shores which they had come to enlighten, were these: — "Kamehameha is dead, — his son Liholiho is king, — the tabus are abolished, — the images are destroyed."

And what was now the moral condition of the 130,000 souls who composed this island-nation? A condition not only of heathenism, but of atheism. The only religion they had known was demolished, and they were left to their own imaginations and passions. Superstition of the worst kind, the grossest ignorance, unrestrained selfishness, cruelty to the feeble and the aged, frequent infanticide, cannibalism in war, polygamy, obscenity, theft, drunkenness, and frightful licentiousness, had always reigned there until civilized man came among them; and even he had aggravated some of their worst vices, and introduced others, by his avarice, fraud, and lust.

* The Hebrew word *corban*, as found in our New Testament, though not of exactly the same import as *tabu*, has a striking resemblance.

In reading the accounts of their moral state, we are constantly reminded of Paul's description of heathenism in the opening of his Epistle to the Romans. Had he written it for the inhabitants of these islands before the introduction of Christianity, it would have been none too strong. And this is always to be remembered, in any estimate made of the effect of missions. To lift a nation up from such depths of degradation is an immense work. To be allowed to work at all, to gain an entrance, and begin to exert a moral influence, is a great deal. And most unreasonable is it, nay, preposterous, to expect that a few men and women, in a few years, will bring a whole people from the lowest ignorance, lawlessness, and pollution, to the character and condition of a Christian community. Let all consider it, who find it difficult to make Christians even of those that have been born in the light, educated in the knowledge, and surrounded by the institutions of this religion. Have we done justice to the missionary labor, in this or in any part of the heathen world? When the wife of a faithful missionary, returning home after many years of arduous toil abroad, was asked if she enjoyed as much in her communion with converts there as here, or anticipated as much in the thought of going back to them, she well replied, that such a question ought not to be asked; for none of us could conceive of the difference between the native heathen and the native Christian. We feel the justice of such reproof, when we reflect upon our own blessings and our abuse of them. And when we call to mind the hundreds of years consumed in raising the island of Great Britain from the barbarism in which civilization and Christianity first found it, to its present condition, so imperfect still, so oppressed by social evils, and darkened by moral problems, we are not prepared to expect, or very patient with those who demand, that, in one quarter of a century, a small company of Christian laborers shall have wrought the complete renovation of nations of idolaters in the Pacific Ocean.

What have they accomplished? Where the art of reading was wholly unknown, not a syllable of written language in existence, or any knowledge of arithmetic or geography beyond the rudest elements, a regular alphabet has been formed, reading and writing have become common, schools have been opened in every district, school-books of every kind have been prepared and published in the native tongue, several printing-presses have been set up and are kept in operation chiefly by

natives who have been taught to print and bind, newspapers are regularly issued and well supported, and besides many other publications, secular and religious, more than fifty thousand Testaments in different editions, and the entire Bible, in two editions of ten thousand each, have been sent forth from the mission-press. The appearance of their Bibles, which may be seen at the Mission House in Boston, does credit to the taste as well as progress of the native workmen. It was said ten years ago, — "The aggregate of printing in the native language, done by and for the mission for the whole period, amounts to about sixty-three millions of pages." The number of readers in the nation, at that time, was computed at twenty-three thousand, and the largest number of children in the schools at any one period, fifty thousand. The number now is less than half that, as a sad depopulation seems to be going on in the islands. But the facts show us, that a good work has been begun in a right way, and that a door is open for the introduction of all the arts of civilized life. Many of these are already known, in the use of iron, furniture, and clothing, in the structure of the houses, and the improvement of manners. It is acknowledged, however, by the missionaries, that progress in civilization is slower than in morals and religion; an instructive fact, to be ascribed perhaps to the inveterate power of indolence and recklessness in a heathen state.

The moral improvement is decided. Its exact extent it is impossible to determine. Statements do not all accord; indeed, they are often directly opposed. To the assertions of neither side do we yield unqualified credence. But one material fact we deduce from all reading and all inquiry; namely, that while the most unfavorable accounts are usually found in suspicious connections either of interest or ignorance, the favoring accounts are sustained, not only by all the missionaries, but also by many impartial witnesses. Such, with slight qualification, we consider Jarves to have been. Visiting the islands only for health and recreation, of a different sect from the missionaries there, and going with strong prejudices against them as partisans and self-seekers, a residence of four years not only removed those prejudices, but led him to speak in most decided terms of the social, civil, intellectual, and moral elevation of the natives. His description of the changes in government, commerce, the mechanical arts, and the common habits of life, is at once temperate and encourag-

ing ; and still more encouraging, his account of the observance of the Sabbath, the support of religious worship, "the interest in religious instruction, and a standard of morality, rapidly improving." Another impartial and important witness is Lieutenant Wilkes, commander of the "United States Exploring Expedition." An accomplished and high-minded man, a member of the American Philosophical Society, in search only of truth and fact, he had an opportunity, for seventy days, of seeing the islands, and knowing the missionaries and people. His account fills a large place in his voluminous "Narrative," and is of the kind that inspires most confidence. He gives in full the code of laws and the written constitution adopted by the native government in 1840, showing an immense stride from barbarism, and establishing the claim of the "Hawaiian Group" to a place among civilized and Christian nations. This, indeed, together with the independence of the government, has since been formally recognized by England, France, and America ; our own Congress declaring it in a marked manner in 1842, on the recommendation of the President, and through an able Report from the pen of John Quincy Adams, then Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs. "Is a nation born in a day?" It is much, if it be born in twenty years from so degraded and distracted a state as that which the American missionaries found ; and to them is the chief credit due. To them does Lieutenant Wilkes give it, speaking at the same time in that qualified tone which shows his impartiality. "Not asserting that the course pursued by the missionaries is in all respects calculated to produce the most happy effects," he bears testimony to their excellent character and purposes, to their great labors and sacrifices. He meets explicitly the common charge of extravagance, showing that their dwellings and manner of living are any thing but "luxurious," and that the charge is both cruel and ludicrous, when the highest salary for a missionary family is four hundred dollars, with no other resources, and no permission to "hold any property for themselves, not even a cow ; all must belong to the mission, and be paid for by it." Of the state of morals and religion this candid observer speaks also favorably, with the same discrimination. In regard to Honolulu, for example, he says, "that great licentiousness and vice exist there is not to be denied" ; but he does deny that the blame is to be thrown in any degree upon the members of the mission, foreign or native ; and

traces it all to the influence of unprincipled residents, selfish traffickers, corrupt mariners, and the unwarrantable interference, at different times, of English and French men-of-war with the wholesome laws and Christian efforts of this new and feeble nation.

One of the most pleasing facts, and best evidences of progress, is the pecuniary, as well as personal, support given to public worship by the natives. Instances are told which should put to shame our own greatest liberality; a single society raising, in three years, five thousand dollars for building and furnishing their meeting-house, besides common contributions, and subscribing also four hundred dollars for the support of a missionary. At a recent meeting in New York, similar instances were related of other societies there, and the statement was made, that the native government appropriate forty thousand dollars a year for schools. Good progress has also been made toward the establishment of a regular native ministry; there being eleven seminaries for the preparation of native preachers and teachers, which now contain between four and five hundred pupils, and have already sent out a number of faithful laborers. These are separate from the common free-schools, of which, in 1846, there were three hundred and sixty-seven, wholly supported by the natives; besides twenty-two boarding-schools. Facts like these are positive and valuable, whatever may be thought of results purely religious. The institution of marriage is now held sacred, and its forms are legally observed, where before license and incest prevailed. Theft and robbery, once so common, are as effectually restrained, and personal security is as complete, as with us. Intemperance, that fell destroyer, the enemy of religion and scourge of nations, has been made to feel the force of law and public opinion as decidedly as in any portion of the world, it is believed. In this respect, the efforts of the missionaries and of the native powers are worthy of all praise. As early as 1831, the queen and her nobles, persuaded of the necessity of a great effort, drew up and signed resolutions of total abstinence, formed a large Temperance Society, prohibited the traffic, and discouraged in every way the use of ardent spirit; the governor of Oahu saying sarcastically and nobly to the dealers who applied for a license to sell to foreigners only, — "To horses, cattle, and hogs sell rum, but not to real men." Recently, thousands have pledged themselves against the use of tobacco also, — a new omen.

How sad that such principles and examples, exhibited by such a people, should be set at naught and baffled by Christian men! Yet so it is. By residents and by armed vessels, not only by petty traders and dissolute sailors, but by English and French officers, and sometimes, though less frequently, by Americans, the laws have been openly violated, all remonstrance disregarded, and the government itself threatened, in some instances forced, at the mouth of the cannon, to rescind their salutary regulations, and yield their authority to the demands of cupidity and appetite. Grosser outrage than this, calling more loudly for the condemnation of the civilized world, we do not know. Its prominence and publicity make it unnecessary to give particulars; nor have we room. We can only refer to the visit of the French frigate L'Artémise to the Sandwich Islands, in 1839; when Laplace, her commander, blockaded the harbour of Oahu, wrote to the American consul to offer protection in his ship to him and his countrymen, *except the* "*Protestant clergy*," whom he chose to consider evil advisers of the native government against his own; and then actually compelled the king, by the threat of open assault, to sign a new treaty the very next morning; extorting also and carrying away twenty thousand dollars as security for the fulfilment of the treaty. And what was its object? The toleration of Catholic worship in all the islands, with some marked favors, the liability of Frenchmen to be tried only by a jury of foreigners chosen by their own consul, and the admission of French wines and brandies at a nominal duty, that made them practically free to all! The effect of this last provision was such as might be expected. The manner in which the young king complains of this and other interference, to Lieutenant Wilkes, is truly affecting. Attempts have been made to explain the affair, and exculpate the government of France, whose consul, on the departure of Laplace with the treaty, immediately despatched a vessel to South America for a load of priests, wines, and brandies. But we have seen no explanation, at all satisfactory, of this insult to the resident missionaries, and this wanton invasion of the liberty and morality of a people just struggling into existence as a Christian nation.

The whole transaction is connected with a controversy which must not be passed over, and to which we next turn, for a brief view. The French allege, that their religion and nation had been excluded and insulted by the authorities of

the Sandwich Islands, and their "perfidious counsellors," the American missionaries. They demand that their own teachers shall be admitted there as freely as any others, and their priests allowed to set up their altars and propagate their faith where they please. This, they say, has not been allowed; on the contrary, all toleration has been refused to the Catholics, and their priests have been forcibly expelled or cruelly persecuted. Now we pretend not to say that there is no ground for these complaints. Protestants are so ready to oppose and denounce Romanism, they have a heartiness of hatred and a sense of abomination so nearly akin to that of their opposers, that we can easily believe some of it would appear on both sides in those distant regions where one party was already in power, and the other regarded as intruders. In what way the Catholics would have received the Protestants, circumstances being reversed, might, probably, be learned by attempting to set up Protestant churches in Cuba, at this moment; demanding of the government there the gift of a site for a church of our own in Havana, as did Laplace in Honolulu. But whether the treatment of the Catholics in this instance was right or not, we find no proof that the American missionaries were guilty of any unchristian conduct or counsel. The local authorities may have been hasty or uncharitable. They were attached to those who had been their first teachers and best friends, they were satisfied with the religion which they had already adopted, they saw that a new and opposing faith would create division, and they saw also, or thought they saw, perhaps had been taught and prepared to see, in the whole form of the intruding service, a close resemblance to the image-worship which they had forsaken and now abhorred. With such feelings and fears, they may have acted hastily or unjustly; and their Protestant teachers may not have attempted to prevent it. Still we see no actual proof of wrong. And, after all, it is a question of narrow compass, as the Catholics themselves present it. For they put it on the ground of right, an equal and positive right, to be admitted to that new country, and plant their faith there. But had the natives no rights of their own? Were they not an independent people, and if they had chosen their religion, and chose to have no other, what right had France, or England, or any other nation, to interfere? Here, again, as in the case of Oregon, there is a curious exercise of power. His Holiness at Rome, Leo XII., some time in the year of

our Lord 1826, ordains a Jesuit priest of the name of Bachelot "Apostolic Prefect of the Sandwich Islands." Forthwith M. Bachelot, with another priest of the name of Short, sets sail for the islands, to take possession of the same. On arriving, he finds — not to his surprise, we presume — that the disciples of another faith have had possession sixteen years; that they have erected many churches and school-houses, and gathered into them thousands of disciples and children. He wishes to make disciples himself, and with much opposition he lands and begins his work. Soon it causes dissension, the objection of the chiefs grows into hostility, and he and his associates are compelled to leave the island. Very reluctantly they go, and after a few years return, but are not allowed even to disembark. Permitted to remain only till there is an opportunity to depart, and absolutely forbidden to preach, they are at last forced off in a poor vessel, and M. Bachelot, who is in feeble health, dies on the passage. In this last measure, there does appear to have been haste, if not harshness, against an honest and seemingly pious man; as there certainly was harshness and intolerance afterwards, in the punishment, by the Hawaiian rulers, of the natives who adhered to Romanism. Against that persecution we rejoice that the missionaries protested; we only wish that they had early protested against, and persisted in preventing, all opposition to the Catholics. The impolicy of such opposition, if nothing more, is palpable. But the *right* of the government itself to oppose and expel we still maintain; and if the Catholics deny it, we will remind them of a certain "golden rule." At the worst, these proceedings are a poor apology for the subsequent conduct of Laplace, who professed to find in them a violation of promises, and an insult to his nation. In fact, the bearing of the French officers, through the whole controversy, was insolent and violent; Mr. Bingham himself being rudely assailed by one of them, who gave him a blow, and threatened to hang him at the yard-arm, when merely acting as interpreter between the parties.

But the Catholics bring other charges. They have always said that Protestant missions would be failures, because of the heresy that taints and enervates them. They now aver that they are failures, and that the very best of them are proved to be so by notorious facts, and even by Protestant confessions. These allegations they are making at this mo-

ment, and in this country, more confidently and busily, we think, than at any former period. And what is their authority for these statements, so startling and important to all, if true? Their chief authority, so far as we learn, is Mr. Melville, in the two books to which we referred at the beginning, — "Typee" and "Omoo." These works are favorably noticed and largely used in the "Catholic Magazine," whose title and official authority we have given in full. The numbers of that journal for November and January last contain remarkable specimens of assertion and exultation, in regard to the utter futility, if not iniquity, of all the South Sea missions; and Melville most, though not alone, is adduced as establishing the important fact. It is undeniable that Melville does favor this view of the matter. We have only glanced at his books, but have read enough, and find enough in these extracts before us, if fairly given, to be satisfied that he has made assertions which ought either to be admitted or refuted. For ourselves, we place little reliance on these assertions; first, because the real design of the books that contain them is a matter of dispute; next, because the author himself has dropped them from the second edition of "Typee"; then, because the assertions do not all agree; and lastly, because they are unsustained, and contradicted, by other writers and eyewitnesses. Indeed, we doubt if Mr. Melville himself is not surprised that any one should form an opinion, or change an opinion, on this great subject, from his books alone; especially when it is seen, that, as we just implied, all his assertions are not against the missions, but some of them strongly in favor. Similar accounts of intemperance and licentiousness witnessed in the islands are often given by missionaries themselves, as greatly to be deplored, but still not incompatible with solid good. The passages in which he not only declares the beneficial effect of missions, but ascribes some of their failures to "disorders growing out of the proceedings of the French," are not quoted in the "Catholic Magazine." We do fear a want of ingenuousness in these assailants. We have sought in vain to verify some of their allegations, and even direct quotations, by referring to the authorities given. Some quotations are so torn from their connections as to prove nothing, and some are not easily found, though we cannot assert, and mean not to imply, that they are not to be found at all. But the mode of referring to them is unsatisfactory, and unwar-

rantable as the basis of such serious charges and sweeping conclusions.

The witness most relied upon, next to Melville, is Jarves. And the reliance there is chiefly on a single passage, in which Jarves describes the awful scenes witnessed at Honolulu after the death of the good Queen Kaahumanu, in 1832, and during a brief season of lawlessness, which the young king, of ardent passions himself, was induced by interested foreigners to allow. The passage is correctly quoted, and does give a terrible picture of appetite and excess, unbridled and heathenish depravity, such as reveals the enormity of the evil to be overcome, and should temper the tone of confidence and triumph as to spiritual changes. But those who quote the passage here do not state, as they should, that these excesses were in consequence of the removal of all restraints by the youthful ruler, and were followed by a reaction of the best kind, the king himself repenting of his folly, forsaking his evil advisers (dissolute men, headed by one Charlton, who boasted that the missionaries would be sent off in the next English armed vessel, thus indicating the source and motive of all this lawlessness), and soon bringing his willing people back to order, temperance, and religious observance. The hold which religion had gained, as seen in this speedy and permanent recovery, is as remarkable as the outbreak was melancholy. Yet this is the proof, cited by the "Catholic Magazine," of the utter uselessness of the Protestant mission, during the first ten years!

The attempt is also made to convict the "Missionary Herald" of concessions to this effect, by taking broken passages from various numbers of that journal, containing honest reports of difficulty, disappointment, and slow progress; as if every number of the Herald did not likewise contain some cheering accounts. Another witness summoned by the Magazine is Daniel Wheeler, the benevolent Quaker, who, about ten years ago, made a "religious visit to the islands of the Pacific ocean," with his son, Charles Wheeler; going at his own expense, but with a commission from the Friends in England, to whom he reported in full on his return. His "Letters and Journal" make an octavo volume of great interest,* the only one we have read or heard of from such a source. As to its bearing, it is gen-

* See *Christian Examiner* for July, 1844, p. 35.

erally favorable to the character and influence of the missionaries both in the Sandwich and the Society Islands. The exceptions, cited by the Catholic reviewer, are no more than every honest observer would make. One practice that the Wheelers saw in the islands is foolish enough, to be sure; that of "compelling" the natives to attend public worship, — "a man with a stick ransacking the villages for worshippers." We should be sorry to believe that such things are common, or that the missionaries ever countenance them. We find very little, however, unfavorable to the Protestant missions in this volume; but we find an account of a Catholic priest, in Tahiti, implicated in a transaction so discreditable both to him and his faith, as to induce the queen to forbid "this man, or any other of the same profession, coming to disturb the peace and tranquillity of Tahiti."* So much for the "testimony" of Daniel Wheeler. Of the other authorities given, Meyen, Kotzebue, and Beechey, we know nothing, except that the last is lightly esteemed, and from neither of them do the extracts offered prove any thing essential.

The case is not made out. The Catholic reviewer attempts too much, and is too confident, as well as flippant, in his whole tone. He speaks not truth, when he proclaims "the total failure of Protestant missionary effort in the islands of the Pacific, and the world over." He betrays

* Since that period, the unhappy queen of Tahiti, and her people, have suffered enough from the Romanists. The violent seizure of the island by a French squadron in 1842, the forcible introduction of Romish priests into a field which the London Missionary Society had occupied and successfully improved for more than forty years, the reduction of a peaceful and independent nation to a state of vassalage and warfare, — all, apparently, because of the resistance made to the licentious practices of the French, and their religious usurpations, — are among the most atrocious acts of our day. It was in the same year, and in the very same month, as if by previous concert, that the French sloop-of-war Embuscade visited the harbour of Honolulu, and demanded the exact fulfilment of all the promises which Laplace, as we have seen, obtained by force three years before; Mallet, the captain of the Embuscade, complaining particularly of the restrictions put upon the sale of French wines and brandies, which Laplace had made free. And while the French were thus invading both groups of islands, the Society and Sandwich, or at least within a year of that time, the British themselves, who loudly complained of these aggressions, committed one, through Lord George Paulet, even more inconsistent, if less violent; compelling the Hawaiian government, at the mouth of her Britannic Majesty's cannon, to make a formal "provisional cession" of the islands to Great Britain. We believe that the governments both of France and England refused to sanction these flagrant impositions; but that they have attempted any just reparation we have never seen.

either ignorance or bigotry, or something worse than either, when he says of the native Hawaiian, — "We saw him, unaided by Christianity, triumphing over the bonds of superstition and idolatry; we see him, after twenty years of Protestant training, returning to his vomit." And when, further, we hear him say, that "the Catholic priest enriched the Hawaiian, whilst the Protestant parson fleeced him," — and that "visiting the sick, feeding the hungry, clothing the naked, are weapons rarely wielded by a Protestant mission," — we are thrown back upon the fear, that the worst feature of Jesuitism has *not* disappeared. We turn with pleasure to the magnanimous avowal of a French nobleman, himself a Catholic, Count Agenor de Gasparin, member of the Chamber of Deputies, who, soon after the "infamous treaty," as he calls that which was forced upon Oahu through the agency of Laplace, thus speaks of the whole Protestant mission: — "Where can we find in the annals of government a social transformation which can compare with that which sixty poor Americans have effected among a hundred and thirty thousand savages? Let those who accuse them examine before they attack. Let them compare, before they proclaim, as they are wont, the immense superiority of Roman Catholic missions."

We regret to see in Protestant journals, as sometimes in the "Missionary Herald," the terms "Man of Sin," and "horn of the Beast," applied to the Church of Rome. There is neither victory nor charity in calling hard names. Romanism has done a great work, an heroic work; and was not sent for naught. It is still busy in the Pacific, though less effectively since it was let alone. It is extending itself in Oceanica, China, and the East Indies, according to its own account, most rapidly. It is enlarging its force in our own country, though chiefly by emigration, exaggerating greatly the amount of its gains from Protestant ranks, and saying nothing of its many losses. Let Protestants be true to their own calling, both in temper and action, and they have nothing to fear. They, too, have done a great work; why stop to compare it with any other? Compare it rather with that which they should have done and have yet to do. Let others boast and assail, if they must; let us confess, repent, and press manfully on. Let us remember the great commission of Christ, and remember also his spirit. Let our love of Christ exceed our fear of Antichrist. Let our

own heathenism have an end, — our revilings, our wars, our slavery, intemperance, licentiousness, grasping ambition, and consuming avarice. Can a corrupt fountain send forth life? The last ship from Boston carrying out missionaries, the Catalpa for Smyrna, is said to have carried also forty thousand gallons of rum. If so, and the missionaries knew it, and consented, (not that we believe the last,) we should fear for their salvation, and that of the rum-owners, as well as for the salvation of the benighted heathen. So have we fear for all among us who give nothing and do nothing for the heathen abroad or at home. "Covetousness is idolatry,"— worse, as Christian, than the worst worship of the pagan. To believe in the impossibility of salvation for those whom God has made heathen is infidelity, if not impiety. But to believe in the certain salvation of those whom Christ has called to be Christian, but who are not, nor strive to be, nor help in any way to make others Christian, or to bless the world, is a perversity and peril for which we have no name.

Let Christians become Christian, and the earth will be illumined. Let Catholic and Protestant hate sin as cordially as they hate heresy, and truth will advance. Let Christ come, and idols, at Rome and at home, in India, Africa, and the isles of the ocean, will fall. O that all denominations of believers — our own not least, nor last — would consider the magnitude, the solemnity, and the infinite issues of the Master's words, — "Unto whomsoever much is given, of him shall be much required"! E. B. H.

Art. VIII. — REV. JASON WHITMAN.*

It has been for many years a source of regret, that so many of our churches need men in the pulpit, and that we have so few men to give them. Never was there a greater need of strong and warm-hearted pastors than now, — never more need of strong and warm-hearted men in all places

* *A Discourse on the Life and Character of Rev. Jason Whitman: delivered in the First Congregational Church in Lexington, Feb. 27*, 1848. By Theodore H. Dorr, Minister of the Second Congregational Society in Lexington. Boston: B. H. Greene. 1848. 8vo. pp. 39.

among us. We speak not, then, of a private grief, nor of one which affects simply the societies to which he has ministered, when we record the death of the Rev. Jason Whitman. We speak rather of a loss felt among all our churches, and throughout the community in general.

For he was such a man, such a pastor, and such a preacher, as we most need. He was a man. The integrity of his character was impaired neither by deficiencies in his heart nor in his head. He was zealous and enthusiastic in every good cause, wise and of sound judgment in regard to action. To deep feelings and sensibilities he joined so deep and calm a faith, that he was ever cheerful and ever trusting. To a practical good sense, and practical habits of thought, he added a devout spirit; with all his earnestness of action and eagerness to produce outward improvement, he ever felt the worth of the things of the spirit, and was, indeed, as distinguished for earnestness of spirituality as for earnestness of action.

Thus, and in almost all respects, he showed the completeness, the wholeness of his character; and it was this, his manhood, that gave his words and his example weight among his fellow-men. Nobly were those words uttered, that example shown. In good deeds he was always foremost to act, in good words always foremost to speak. A frequent contributor to our periodicals, a frequent lecturer at our lyceums, his writings were so marked with good sense, so aimed at good ends, that they had no inconsiderable effect upon the public mind. He spoke in behalf of freedom, in behalf of truth, of righteousness, of education, of good order, and respect for law. He has done a good work by his strenuous and successful efforts in behalf of temperance; and made his name known as a friend of freedom by his Christian testimony against slavery, especially since his winter's residence in the regions of that shadow of death. His lectures and writings have also made glad the hearts of our common-school teachers, and his faithful and active services as a member of school-committees have been a public benefit in the towns which have enjoyed his presence.

Nor are his exertions in aid of the Sunday school unworthy of notice. Both in his own parishes, and, for the last year or more, in the Middlesex Sunday School Association, he was ever ready to labor, and his labor was also effective.

The last-named body will scarcely find a Secretary who will more worthily fill the place.*

As a pastor, Mr. Whitman was very dear to his people. Early in his ministry he made the subject of parochial duty a matter of earnest thought, and held much consultation with several of the wisest fathers in the ministry, upon the best mode of action. He was remarkably kind to the sick and the afflicted, and very frank, plain-spoken, and direct in the oversight of souls. For his usual parish visiting, his plan was, to become acquainted with his people, that he might adapt his preaching to their wants. But he conceived that acquaintance could never be gained by visiting each family successively, and not repeating the visit until the whole congregation had been seen. He therefore divided his people into sections, and became acquainted, by frequent visits, with one section at a time, while to the others he paid less attention. This course, said he, may produce a little unpleasant feeling in the section whose acquaintance is longest deferred, but not necessarily. And when the parish has thus been thoroughly examined, by sections, and its character is known, the advantage to the preacher is great. The plan, however, presupposes the continuance of the ministry for several years.

Mr. Whitman's preaching was marked by clearness, simplicity, directness, and earnestness. His style was as transparent as his heart. No man could misunderstand his meaning, or doubt the purity of his motives. There was no attempt at display. He moved towards the attainment of his object with a steadiness and singleness of aim which showed

* "The Fifth Report of the Middlesex Sunday School Society, made at the Sixth Annual Meeting, held Oct. 13th, 1847," and prepared by Mr. Whitman, appeared to us, on perusal, so admirable, both in plan and execution, that we were anxious to draw attention to it, by a notice, which has been twice excluded from our pages by the want of room. We may be allowed as a personal gratification to introduce here a part of what should have appeared in the last number of the Examiner.

"This excellent Report consists of 'Remarks upon the Statistics of the several Schools,' the 'General Management of the Schools,' and 'Parental Coöperation,' arranged under each head in the alphabetical order of the towns, with some pages, at the close, of 'General Remarks' on the duty of parents, and the distinction between the labors of the parent and those of the teacher; the whole forms a pamphlet containing much useful information and matter of permanent value. The last production of his pen which our friend gave to the public, it will remain a memorial of his sensible, earnest, Christian mind, of his interest in all good works, of his readiness to labor for their advancement, and of his clear understanding of the wants of the time." — *Eds. Christ. Exam.*

alike his good sense and his Christian fidelity. He forgot himself, and thought of his hearers and of his message. Like his brother, the Rev. Bernard Whitman, who was called before him to his reward, he never wrote to win admiration for himself, but preached and published his most important thoughts without a careful revision of the style, simply because they were important, and he could not delay their utterance for so light a consideration. This may have made his power less over a portion of his hearers, but with the majority it only gave additional weight to his words, by giving them a stronger conviction that he was in earnest. We say that he forgot himself and thought of his hearers; a sincere desire to do good being the prompter of his words. He spoke in love; he spoke also in humility, moved by faith and trust in God. There was no infidelity in his heart; Jesus was living with him; and his heart burned at the sound of the Saviour's voice. He had constant access unto God, and those who heard him felt that his word was from Heaven, — spoken in the Father's name and by his authority.

In the sermon preached after his decease by the Rev. Mr. Dorr, his fellow-laborer in the adjoining parish of East Lexington, we have an interesting memoir of his life, from which we draw our information as to his earlier days.

The Rev. Jason Whitman, brother of the Rev. Nathaniel and the Rev. Bernard Whitman, was born in Bridgewater, Mass., April 30th, 1799, and was the youngest of the family. Feeble from infancy, he was also subject in childhood to diseases which left permanent affections of the throat and lungs. But in his case, as in a thousand others, though the outward man was perishing, yet the inward man was renewed day by day. Confined to the house more closely than other children, he also loved books better, and sought wisdom through them. His earlier schooling was at the Bridgewater Academy, then kept by Mr. David Reed; he afterwards studied with his brother, the Rev. Nathaniel Whitman, pastor of the First Congregational Society in Billerica, Mass., and at the age of nineteen went to the Academy in Exeter, N. H., where he continued three years, previously to entering Harvard College. He was graduated at Cambridge in 1825, with high honors, and immediately took charge of the Academy in Billerica, which he taught for three years. His college vacations had been partly employed in school-teaching, and this was the profession which his friends wished him to

pursue, thinking that the diseased state of the bronchial tubes would prevent him from speaking in public. But his heart was fixed to serve God in the sanctuary, and he steadily kept his determination to be an ambassador for Christ. He entered on the study of divinity at Cambridge, and in two years, being licensed by a ministerial association at Dover, Mass., began to preach. He was invited to settle in the town of Canton, Mass., but afterwards being called to Saco, Maine, he was ordained at the latter place in the year 1830. Here he remained three or four years, in a happy and successful ministry, when he was appointed General Secretary of the American Unitarian Association. For one year he filled this post acceptably to the Association and the public. At the urgent request of the Rev. Dr. Nichols, of Portland, Maine, he then yielded to pressing invitations, and was installed over a second Unitarian society in that place, in 1835. The engagement with them was for five years, and at the end of that time it was renewed for another period of five years. These ten years were spent in most active service, and were fruitful of the highest good. His ministry was not confined wholly to Portland, but, being obliged to spend one winter in a warmer climate, he went to Savannah, Ga., and there built himself a monument of enduring praise by his faithful labor among our brethren in that city.

On the 30th of July, 1845, he was installed over the First Congregational Society in Lexington, Mass., where he remained till the close of his life. Being called to Saco, to attend the funeral of his brother-in-law, the Hon. John Fairfield, of the U. S. Senate, and finding that the burial could not take place for several days, he determined upon a visit to his numerous friends in Portland. It was from exposure to the cold upon this journey between Saco and Portland, that he contracted the disease which terminated his life, on the 25th of January, 1848. It seemed fit that he should end his days among the people to whom the best days of his strength had been given. Their attachment to him was fully manifested by their watchful care during his illness, and by the substantial proofs of kindness they have shown, since his death, to those who were dearest to him in life.

We cannot confine ourselves to the use we have now made of Mr. Dorr's valuable sermon, but in justice to the subject of his remarks, as well as to himself, must copy a few passages

that will serve both to confirm and to enlarge the view we have given of Mr. Whitman's character.

"I have alluded to our brother's keen comprehension of Divine truth, his practical wisdom, his generous frankness, and ministerial fidelity. These qualities of mind and heart were adorned by an indomitable energy, a resolute perseverance, and a noble spirit of self-sacrifice, and all combined together made him what he was, in the highest sense of that term, '*a working man.*' In him was exemplified that 'divine marriage,' so eloquently spoken of in the sermon at the dedication of this church on Wednesday last, between 'work and worship,' 'action and prayer'; in respect to which it would be well, did all remember the command to which reference was then made: 'What God hath joined together, let not man put asunder.' Valuable illustration of this remark is found in the facts that have been related of his early life, and of his preparation for the ministry, through all which period he contended manfully in the midst of many difficulties that would have seemed insuperable to others. His theory, carried out into every department of life, was, 'Work whilst it is day, for the night cometh, in which no man can work.' Such a spirit as this brooked no discouragement. I cannot omit to mention that beautiful instance of this spirit of fortitude and perseverance, which must ever be dear to your recollection, when, after the destruction of your house of worship by fire, more than a year since, he was seen on the next day going about from house to house, cheering your hearts, almost leading you to feel that a blessing rather than an affliction had fallen upon you..... And this was but one instance among many of the happy fortitude with which he bore up under difficulties in his work, and made them conduce to the good of others. Oftentimes, when the futility or impracticability of some favorite purpose was urged upon him, he would humbly admit that it might be so, but the question with him was, '*What is my duty? What is to be done? How can it be done?*' And the faithful effort waited so quickly upon the inquiry, as to leave no doubt that he saw his duty plainly, and was resolved to pursue it. His enthusiasm seldom ran away with his judgment, but bid him in Heaven's name do something, and do it at once. We have seldom been privileged to see such intense mental activity with such entire kindness of heart, and such ready wisdom. No occasion found him unprepared. So long as the purpose was a good one, every opportunity for labor, labor of the mind, and heart, and voice, was acceptable. No one could labor with him, or come within the sphere of his influence, without observing the facility with which he turned every thing to some good account. In imitation of God's gracious providence, he made all things work together for good unto them that were exercised thereby." — pp. 23 – 26.

"At first view, a life of so much activity, of such earnest labors in every good work, may seem inconsistent with the more retired communings of the soul with God, with that devout meditation and secret prayer that form so important a part of the spiritual life, and comprehend its highest perfection. But with more careful thought, we shall perceive that as there can be no vigorous action of the physical energies, without the regular and healthy pulsations of the heart, so there can be no true outward service in the kingdom of God, unless a fountain of holy confidence in our Heavenly Father, and of fervent communion with his spirit, is cherished in the soul, and never without a copious supply of 'the water of life.' Our departed brother understood this truth in all its extent and applications, and labored for himself as faithfully as he labored for others. I consider his example in this regard as one of the richest remembrances that he has bequeathed to us all. With intense mental activity, he possessed great devoutness of soul. We read that our Saviour went apart oftentimes for prayer and secret communion with God. Here, as elsewhere, he of whom we now speak was faithful to imitate his Lord and Master. In the arrangement of his time, he was in the daily habit of using the earliest hours of the morning for study of the Bible, and holy meditation, and prayer. Here he gained his strength, his resolution, his faith, and his cheerful trust, and fortified himself with power to address other souls, and to comfort the wearied, sorrowing heart. His favorite authors were those who treated most profoundly of the inner life; and the most marked peculiarity of his discourses was found in the developments of a soul ever in intimate communion with Divine truth, and with Him who is the source of all truth. His sermons on the subject of prayer are striking exemplifications of this view of his character. His relations to many under his various ministries were of such a tender nature, that they sought communion with him, that they might understand the ways of the true inner life, and imbibe a portion of it from him. Influences have gone out from him of this nature, that will not cease their blessed ministry, now that he is removed from the earth." — pp. 30 — 32.

We have thus given a brief sketch of a life crowded with plans for good, and efforts for their fulfilment, — a life closed in the midst of its usefulness. The people lately under his charge will bear witness that the voice at midnight found him in the field. Active, faithful, and wise in his ministry on earth, God hath called him to a ministry where the burden of the flesh shall no longer weigh down the spirit, or set bounds to the blessedness of following in Jesus's steps.

T. H.

Art. IX. — BLINDNESS AND IDIOCY.*

The scientific spirit, which has been so busy for the last century in investigating the undeveloped resources of nature, bringing to light hidden and powerful agencies, and reducing the elemental forces into the service of man, has not been contented with its magnificent victories over the material world. It has applied itself, under the guidance of an enlightened and fearless philanthropy, to the examination of those imperfect members of the human family whose condition the men of former ages were unable to understand, and whose energies, therefore, were allowed to lie dormant through the whole period of their mortal life. The unfortunate in body or in mind lived and died, in the old times, as cumberers of the earth, happy if superstition did not outlaw them as cursed of God, if brutality did not torment or ignorance pamper them into a still lower mental and moral degradation. In the days when might made right, indeed, very much the same measure was meted to misfortune and to crime, and the influence of that barbarous period survived its grosser social forms, the teeth even of the nineteenth century being set on edge by the sour grapes which the Dark Ages ate. To lift the first public remonstrance against public prejudices is in no case a slight undertaking. To bring men face to face with loathsome, repulsive facts is especially difficult. And we can hardly overestimate the services which such men as Howard perform for humanity by their boldly Christian lives. The impulse once given, many hearts are ready to carry on the redeeming work; and the general progress of humane efforts in behalf of the outcasts of suffering and sin is a subject so attractive, that it might well detain us from our purpose in this article, but the important character of the doc-

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* 1. *Sixteenth Annual Report of the Trustees of the Perkins Institution and Massachusetts Asylum for the Blind, to the Corporation.* Cambridge. 1848. 8vo. pp. 76.

2. *A Blind Man's Offering.* By B. B. Bowen. Boston: Published by the Author. 1847. 12mo. pp 432.

3. *Treatment and Cure of Crétins and Idiots. With an Account of a Visit to the Institution on the Abendberg, Canton Berne, Switzerland, during the Summer of* 1846. By Buckminster Brown, M. D. Republished from the Am. Journal of Med. Science. Boston. 1847. 8vo. pp. 19.

4. *Report of the Commission on Idiocy, under the Resolve of April* 11, 1846, *to the Governor of Massachusetts.* Presented Feb. 26, 1848. [Legislative Document, — Senate No. 51.] 8vo. pp. 53.

uments to which we have referred demands of us special attention.

In his Sixteenth Report to the Corporation of the Perkins Institution, Dr. Howe has advanced some new views of the causes and effects of blindness, which, as they lead to very weighty consequences, and are evidently the results of the most thorough and serious conviction, are not to be lightly considered. In the many institutions for the instruction of the blind which have sprung into existence since the year 1784, much interest has of course been excited in relation to the intellectual capacities of this class of persons. The favorable conclusions, which were justified by the achievements of those *selected* pupils with whom the experiment began, were hastily generalized, and the blind at the various schools have been encouraged with flattering hopes of success in the highest walks of life. "Blind persons," said the Trustees of the New England Institution, in their first Address, published in 1833, "can become as well qualified as seeing persons for many employments which are generally thought beyond their powers. . . . . We know not why they should not make first-rate counsellors, and think it possible they might fill the pulpit both ably and usefully." In accordance with these views, the pupils of the various institutions have been met, on their entrance, with the encouraging theory, that the majority of them might be fitted to hold responsible and desirable positions in society, and that all could earn a fair support by manual labor. How many have thus been nurtured in hopes which their after life was destined to destroy cannot be known; but we fear that not a few will exclaim now, "in the bitterness of their hearts, that it would have been better to leave them in ignorance than to enlighten and cultivate their minds, so as to make them more sensible to the stings of poverty and the shame of dependence." *

Instances of successful enterprise on the part of blind men are to be found, indeed, bearing witness, not only to their own energy of character, but to the skill and efficiency of their instructors. One such is afforded us by the history of Mr. Bowen, the title of whose book we have quoted. Mr. Bowen was born in Marblehead, Mass., and lost his sight when six weeks old. His parents being in indigent circumstances, he was early thrown upon his own

* *Sixteenth Report of Perkins Institution*, p. 31.

exertions, and the account which he gives of his fishing expeditions (for his blindness did not interfere with that irresistible genius of the place which has made Marblehead so illustrious for the courage of its seamen and the multitude of its widows) is very interesting. At fourteen years of age, he was selected by Dr. Howe as one of his first six pupils. His excessive physical activity was expended for the first two years on manual labor; after that time he turned to study, and maintained a respectable position in his class. On leaving the Institution, he received a certificate of good conduct and honorable discharge, with a high testimonial to his musical acquirements; but "I was penetrated," he says, "with a more profound consciousness of the deprivation to which I was subjected, without being much more able than before to overcome its defects." He attempted to accomplish something as a weaver of Manilla mats, the manufacture of which has been largely pursued at South Boston, but "miserably failed"; and he adds, "a blind person, working at this employment fourteen or fifteen hours, can only average about fifty cents a day." The importance of this testimony will appear in a subsequent part of our remarks. He finally undertook to lecture and to teach music, which occupations he has since followed. Though sufficiently open to criticism, Mr. Bowen's book contains much that is interesting. It is pervaded by a strong religious feeling. Without underrating the misfortune under which he labors, the author yet takes a manly, sensible view of life, is disposed to look pleasantly and kindly on all things, and offers a beautiful refutation of the popular and most unjust notion, that those who are cut off from the enjoyment of one of the senses are generally, and therefore, disposed to be sour and misanthropic. Music seems to be the most blessed source of peace to the blind, and Mr. Bowen bears his testimony to this universal fact in the following words: —

"There is no faculty I possess, with which I would not part, rather than relinquish the high satisfaction which music imparts. Gladly would I open these sealed orbs, and look out upon the vast, magnificent universe; but I would not accept so great a boon, if it must be obtained at the sacrifice of the deep joy, the inexpressible happiness, which music alone can afford." — *Offering*, p. 299.

The persevering industry and ceaseless activity of Mr. Bowen have procured him, we understand, a fair measure of

success, and his book certainly is an index of what may be done for and by the blind; but in the immense majority of cases, experience has gradually falsified the brilliant expectations at first entertained on this subject. Discouragement has followed, bringing with it doubts of the whole system of education for the blind; and though the interest generally taken in them cannot be said to have subsided, it has not acquired such extent or depth as, from the nature of the case and the great objects in view, might have been expected.*

The Reports of Dr. Howe to the Perkins Institution, for some years past, furnish evidence of his unremitted attention to the most enlarged duties of his position, in the varying views which he has presented of the mental abilities of the blind. He has been joined to no idol in this matter, and in his last Report has given the results of his long and careful observation in the following statements: — first, that "the blind, as a class, are inferior to other persons in mental power and ability"; and, secondly, that "blindness, or a strong constitutional tendency to it, is very often hereditary."

The first of these facts, which experience, we think, has fully demonstrated, might, as Dr. Howe says, have been inferred, *a priori;* for the sense of sight affords most fruitful material to the soul, its destruction excludes knowledge at one of its most important entrances, and to suppose that there can be a full and harmonious development of character without sight is to suppose "that God gave us that noble sense quite superfluously." When "gone from hence," the soul may be

> "One orb of sense,
> All eye, all touch, all ear";

but while we inhabit this world, our senses are the constituted recipients of the influences which surround us. Whatever partial excellence, then, the blind may achieve, a perfect harmony of soul and mind is as impossible to them as perfect physical symmetry and beauty. But this is not all. The standard of bodily health among the blind is greatly inferior to the standard of bodily health among seeing persons. In the Report of the Kentucky Institution for 1845, we find it asserted, that "the blind are peculiarly liable to sick-

* In proof of this, we need only adduce the fact, that so little has been done in the way of printing for the blind, and that little by private liberality. Printing in relief was invented by Hauy in 1784, and in 1845 the English library for the blind did not much exceed sixty books.

ness." This seems to be invariably true, and Dr. Howe goes so far as to estimate, from observations made by himself, that "the chance of life among the blind is only one half what it is among the seeing." This may seem extravagantly unfavorable to the blind, but the results of inquiries made of various competent persons very distinctly confirm the position, that the blind, as a class, are inferior in body and mind to the seeing. A statement made by the superintendent of one of our great institutions will illustrate this remark. "Out of one hundred and thirty-five pupils," says this gentleman, "seventeen may be considered to possess superior talent, thirteen of whom were born blind; thirty-five are of inferior talent, of whom twenty-two were born blind; ten are of a very low grade of mind, hardly rising above imbecility, of these eight were born blind: of vigorous, well-developed forms there are thirty-one, nine of whom were born blind; of weak and puny frames, forty-four, of whom thirty-one were born blind." He adds, "I should think that a comparison of all others who have ever been connected with this Institution would not materially vary the above results." The knowledge of this inferiority of the blind, instead of diminishing, must increase our interest in them. It strengthens their claim upon our sympathies, and especially confirms their right to positive assistance. Society must give them, not only education, but the means and the sphere for useful and respectable occupation. If their infirmity thus affects, not only the organ which is the immediate sufferer, but their whole bodily and mental organization, — and that it does so, investigation of the facts does not permit us to doubt, — it is just and right that they should be relieved from the risks attendant upon their unassisted efforts at self-support, and should be provided with such appliances for comfort and labor as shall put them on something like an equal footing with the seeing, in the arena of life.*

Dr. Howe maintains, that, while in many cases the weakness of body and mind may have been produced, in a great measure, by unwise indulgence of the blind during childhood, a larger number of those who lose their sight after birth

* This view of the condition of the blind lends great force to Dr. Howe's arguments in favor of the enlargement and permanent establishment of the Work Department at South Boston. It is only such a combination among themselves that can give the blind workmen any thing like an equality of position with seeing mechanics.

may be said to have been born "to become blind," the blindness being "a symptom or local manifestation of some general cause which vitiates, or affects unfavorably, the whole bodily organization." In such persons, the slightest accident or inflammation may destroy the sight.* If these opinions are correct, then it follows that blindness must, in many cases, be considered as hereditary; and thence again, that, being thus a consequence of the violation of natural laws, it can be constantly diminished, and finally altogether done away, by a regular and universal obedience to those laws. In the Address of 1833, already referred to, it was stated, that the "proportion of the blind would be found to be, at all times, about the same, in the same countries," — that "blindness is one of the instruments by which a mysterious Providence has chosen to afflict man," — and that it is "as little probable that by any accident all mankind should lose their eyes, as that by any precaution all should preserve them." To this view the Sixteenth Report offers a noble reply, and we cannot but feel assured of the truth of a theory which is so entirely in unison with our highest views of the relation between God and man, and of those eternal provisions by which the control of their own welfare is placed within the reach of all his intelligent and moral creatures. The solemn and eloquent words in which Dr. Howe announces the consequences of a full and general understanding of this law of the transmission of tendencies, bodily and mental, cannot be too often repeated.

"It will be seen," he says, "that the wit of man cannot devise a way of escape from the penalty of a violated law of nature, ... that sins of this kind are not and cannot be forgiven..... It will be seen that many a mother is responsible for the pride, the vanity, the lust of her daughter; that many a father is as guilty of the death of his son upon the gallows as though he twisted the rope about his neck with his own hands. Then many a woman will rouse herself to the stern duty of observance of every law of health, of abstinence from all luxury and all sloth-

* In two of the English asylums, those of Liverpool and Glasgow, the proportion of patients born blind was, respectively, one twelfth and one seventh; but in the former institution, out of 1157 patients, 377 lost their sight through inflammations, 127 by amaurosis, and 130 by cataracts; in the latter, out of 139 patients, 52 lost their sight by inflammations, 18 by amaurosis, and 9 by cataracts. In the Ohio Institution, as appears by the Ninth Report, out of 118 pupils, 24 were born blind, 25 lost their sight by inflammations, 8 by amaurosis, and 9 by cataracts.

fulness, for the sake of those dear ones that may be born to her; and many a man will abandon sensual indulgences which he would have clung to through life but for fear of cursing his future offspring with hellish passions. Then will some soar to such an exalted pitch of virtue, as to forego their dearest hopes, and resolutely keep aloof from any relations of life that might cause them to hand down bodily or mental infirmities upon the innocent ones of the coming generations..... Then it will be seen, that, if this world is a vale of tears, if it is full of deformity, and suffering, and sickness, and crime, it is man, and not God, that maketh it so." — *Sixteenth Report*, pp. 50, 51.

A man, whose heart and conscience have been so seriously moved to the observation and relief of misery in one shape, cannot rest in the straight line of one philanthropic idea, and Dr. Howe presents us, in the Report of the Commissioners for inquiring into the Condition of Idiots in Massachusetts, with the results of the application of the spirit of scientific humanity to a subject of the most painful interest. Undergoing much vexatious and unpleasant labor, brought into contact with human nature in its most degraded conditions, the Commissioners have persevered in their task, and now inform us of the startling fact, that there are, at present, within the borders of Massachusetts, certainly more than one thousand persons sunk in brutish idiocy. Four hundred of these wretched beings have been "inspected" personally by the Commissioners and their agent, and upon the mental and bodily condition of these (a minute report of which is in course of preparation) are based the remarks and conclusions of the present document. Though generally treated with kindness, there is a great want of skill and judgment in the management of those idiots who are supported as paupers in the almshouses. They are allowed to associate with ignorant and depraved persons, and in many cases are given up to the dominion of the most disgusting appetites, so that, although no intentional cruelty is displayed towards them, the consequences to them of the deplorable ignorance of their keepers are truly fearful. Neglect of cleanliness, producing the most diseased physical states, want of discrimination in the quality and quantity of the food granted them, and carelessness or inability to put a stop to those debasing bodily habits which, "more than all things else, degrade them below the brutes, and keep them there,"—these are some of the deficiencies in the keepers of idiotic paupers, which call for an immediate and thorough

reform. These human beings, however polluted and depraved, mentally and morally, are still our brothers before God, and are susceptible of an elevation which, when contrasted with their present degradation, may be called angelic. Under the public care, as now exercised, they are sinking deeper and deeper; and their condition in private families is even worse. Out of three hundred and fifty-four idiotic persons, who were neither State nor town paupers, only five were considered by the Commissioners to be discreetly and judiciously treated. The details of the unreasonable, the grossly absurd conduct of parents in relation to their idiotic children, which the Report furnishes, are almost incredible.

These things are the result of ignorance, it is true, but the ignorance itself must soon be a sin and disgrace to us; for it is now proved, by triumphant experience in France, Switzerland, and Prussia, that idiots may be trained to habits of industry, cleanliness, and self-respect; that "the highest of them may be measurably restored to self-control, and the very lowest of them may be lifted from the slough of animal pollution to the platform of humanity." *

It is a remarkable fact, that the first effort on record to educate an idiot was made for the purpose of sustaining the sensualist philosophy, by Itard, on the wild boy Peter of Aveyron. This object was not attained, but the humane philosopher, when he discovered that the supposed savage was merely an idiot, devoted himself to his instruction. He left many valuable hints on the subject, which have since been carried out very successfully. In 1828, a school for idiots was organized at the Bicêtre, one of the large insane hospitals of Paris. In 1831, a similar attempt was made at the Salpêtrière, the other great asylum, with some female idiots. The most satisfactory explanations of the phenomena of idiocy have been given in various pamphlets by Dr. Voisin, who opened a private school for idiots in 1834, and in 1839 was appointed physician at the Bicêtre, where, in connection with Dr. Leuret, he renewed and enlarged the school established by M. Ferrus, the principal teacher of which is, at present, M. Vallée. To Edouard Séguin, however, belongs the highest glory, for the improvements made by him in the art of teaching and training idiots. The most full and encouraging testimony to the success of the benevo-

* *Report*, p. 31.

lent labors of these men has been borne by distinguished scientific gentlemen of France, and by foreigners of high reputation, as Dr. Conolly, chief physician of the great English asylum at Hanwell, and George Sumner, Esq., of Boston, whose account of the Parisian schools was embodied in a Report presented the last year by the Massachusetts Commission on Idiocy. In Prussia and in England attention has also been paid to the subject. But the most remarkable school for idiots yet established is the Institution of the Abendberg, Canton Berne, Switzerland. The account of this place given by Dr. Brown, who visited it in the summer of 1846, is very interesting. A peculiar sort of idiocy, connected with a diseased bodily condition, prevails in various quarters of the world, as in the Tyrol, Kärnthen, Styria, Savoy, some parts of North America, and especially in certain cantons of Switzerland. The persons afflicted with this malady are generally mild and gentle, and in Switzerland the simple shepherds have given to them the name of *Crétins*, — a corruption of *Chrétiens*, — probably because they are accustomed to consider unresisting gentleness as a principal element in the Christian character. It is chiefly for the education of Crétins that the school on the Abendberg is intended. Dr. Guggenbuhl, its founder and superintendent, gives the following account of the origin of his plan, which, as it affords some insight into the character of the man, is worthy of attention.

"Called upon some years since," he says, "to investigate a malignant disease which infested the beautiful valleys of the higher Alps, I saw an old Crétin, who was stammering a half-forgotten prayer before an image of the Virgin, at Leedorf, in the Canton Uri. This sight excited my feelings in favor of these unhappy creatures, and fixed my vocation. A being still capable of conceiving the thought of God is worthy of every care and every sacrifice. These debased brothers, are they not more worthy of our interest than those races of animals which we labor to make perfect?" — *Treatment and Cure of Crétins*, p. 7.

Built on a height which secures the purity and freshness of the air, surrounded by lofty mountains, looking down upon the sunny vale of Interlachen and the lakes of Brientz and Thun, the institution of the Abendberg possesses every external advantage. Thus inspired within and sustained without, the establishment has been wonderfully successful. The number of patients received, up to the time of the Report,

was thirty, — of whom six had been restored to the normal development of children, sixteen were still under treatment, six had been sent home greatly improved in health and habits, and two had died. Several cases are quoted by Dr. Brown, for which we refer our readers to his pamphlet; the final observations on the experiment, in Dr. Guggenbuhl's Report, being given as follows: — "First, that *many* learn to speak, and receive religious and moral ideas. Secondly, that some learn to read and write. Thirdly, that still others become able to learn a trade, and particularly to apply themselves to agricultural and domestic labors." It is gratifying to know that this noble undertaking has attracted the attention of men richer in this world's goods than its heroic founder, and that the institution still stands among the Alps of Berne, a more imposing monument of love and power than the solid mountain ranges which support it.

The idiot's case, then, is no longer hopeless. Patience, love, and wisdom can dissolve even his spiritual petrifaction. This work, once made possible, becomes an imperative duty. Every day sows the seeds of evils whose duration and influence we cannot measure; for these wretched beings, brutal, depraved, neglected, are wandering at large among us, polluting with unutterable abominations the tender minds of children, and plunging themselves into deeper abysses of degradation. How soon shall the one step be taken which shall stay this indefinite progress of corruption, redeem society from an awful scourge, and restore a thousand human beings to peace, order, and the comparative enjoyment, at least, of the privileges and faculties of men? We trust that the prompt and decisive action of the legislature will show the Commissioners that they are not laboring in vain, and will prove that Massachusetts cannot be apathetic in a cause involving so deeply the welfare of present and future generations.

W. H. H.

Art. X. — WHITWELL'S TRANSLATION OF ROMANS.*

We welcome Mr. Whitwell's book as an indication of a reviving interest in critical studies. Its humble size sufficiently attests the author's distrust of a disposition in the public to encourage works of this class, and we think that he has sufficient ground for such distrust. For several years critical theology has been sinking into disrepute among us. Mr. Norton's great work has been received with the respect due to his name, but how many readers beyond the clergy has it found? Mr. Livermore's Commentary on the New Testament has met with favor because it supplied a want that could not but be felt, especially by the large body of Sunday School teachers. Dr. Noyes's Translations of the Hebrew Scriptures have, by their merits, slowly gained a tolerable, and only a tolerable, sale. When we have named these publications, what remains that bears witness to a love of sacred criticism among either ministers or people? The study of the Bible in the original languages, pursued with such enthusiastic diligence and noble success by our predecessors in the ministry, has given place to the gratification of tastes of a less professional character. We have mourned over the change, not only as affording a presage of the decay into which our denomination, if it continue to discredit the labors of the Biblical student, must fall, but as indicating an erroneous appreciation of the sources of religious truth. Unitarian Christianity rests upon the Bible. A faithful exposition of Scripture has been the means of its spread through different portions of the community, and with a disregard of Biblical learning must come a blight upon the churches which owe their prosperity, if not their existence, to a free but reverential study of the sacred volume.

The immediate effect of a neglect of critical theology is seen in a low standard of professional qualification. Preachers are less thoroughly educated when they enter the pulpit, and afterwards bestow less attention on those studies which especially deserve, and most largely reward, the industry of the Christian minister. Integrity of purpose, earnestness,

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* *A Translation of Paul's Epistle to the Romans, with an Introduction and Notes.* By William A. Whitwell, Minister of the Congregational Society in Wilton, N. H. Boston: Crosby & Nichols. 1848. 16mo. pp. 108.

and piety are essential to ministerial success ; but sound learning is an accomplishment, the want of which, though in an individual it may be overbalanced by natural gifts, must force the body of the clergy of any denomination into a lower social position than that which, by virtue of their office and their opportunities of influence, they ought to hold. We cannot bear the thought, that our pulpits should be filled with men half educated, and therefore but half fitted for the work which they undertake. We do not need those who shall win the applause of the world for eloquence or scholarship, but we do need, and we must have, able theologians, men who make the Bible not only the text-book of their preaching and the manual of their life, but the subject of their laborious investigation.

The Epistles of the New Testament will probably present an occasion for the exercise of the interpreter's toil and skill to the end of time. The "things" in Paul's letters which were "hard to be understood" by his contemporaries still perplex the reader and divide opinion ; while other things that were intelligible then have become obscure as the world has moved farther off from the circumstances out of which they arose. It is possible to read this part, or any part, of the Bible devoutly and profitably without a clear understanding of every passage which it includes. There is a religious, and there is a critical use of the Bible, and we do not question, that, separately considered, the former is infinitely more important than the latter; but we maintain, — and who will deny ? — that, if the critical study of the Scriptures without a religious spirit must fail of reaching their highest significance, the most devout perusal without the aid that may be derived from a correct system of interpretation, with its proper instruments, must induce many imperfect and inaccurate conclusions. No example could be more in point than is furnished by the letters of the late Mr. Adams on the Bible, addressed to his son, numerous copies of which were circulated in manuscript many years since. They discover the reverence and faith and general intelligence which distinguished their author, but they show the want of that scientific acquaintance with the Scriptures which the commentator should exhibit, and which it is his office to impart.

Commentary, however, valuable as it is, should be preceded, and in a measure superseded, by translation, and the Epistles of the New Testament, particularly, might be freed

from many of the difficulties that now hang over them by a correct translation. To call the received version faulty is only to say what every scholar knows and every honest man will confess. A new translation of Paul's Epistles which should preserve the force while it exhibited the connection of the original, neither perverting nor diluting the Apostle's meaning, but giving to the English reader that exuberant magnificence of thought which even the copious vocabulary and flexible forms of the Greek language seem scarcely able to convey, — a translation true to the genius of the original and the capacities of the modern tongue, — a translation that should be neither a paraphrase nor a verbal imitation, — would be an invaluable gift to our own and to future ages.

It may be from a conviction of this truth, that Mr. Whitwell has confined himself to a translation of the Epistle to the Romans, with a few pages of notes, while Professor Stuart, whose exegetical garrulity does sad injustice to his real learning, has but followed the example of other commentators in publishing a heavy book (let no one think we speak in a double sense) upon the same Epistle. In regard to this new Translation, the first remark of every reader must be, that it is vastly more intelligible than that given in the Common Version. As we go on from illustration to illustration, and from argument to argument, we get a distinct notion of the writer's meaning and purpose, — provided they be what the translator supposes. The Epistle is no longer *hard to read.* But against this, which is no slight excellence, must be set in our judgment two defects, one of which at least is of a serious character. First, Mr. Whitwell needlessly departs from the language of the Common Version. In many instances, where a change was not required for the purpose of giving a more just or clear expression of the thought, he substitutes other words in the place of those to which we have become familiar, and with which so many dear and sacred associations have been formed. While we would not, out of regard to such associations, retain a single phrase or word that does not faithfully exhibit the original, we would not so far disregard them as to adopt a change suggested merely by a slight preference on the score of taste.

A second, and more serious, qualification of the praise which we are disposed to bestow on Mr. Whitwell's labor arises from a doubt whether he has always apprehended the Apostle's meaning. The general view of the design and

plan of the Epistle, given in the "Introduction," though it fails of setting before us the fulness and peculiar quality of Paul's mind in his composition of the letter, is substantially correct; but in many passages of the translation, his meaning seems to us to be misrepresented. We particularly observe this in the rendering of the word δικαιοσύνη, which Mr. Whitwell, with some other Unitarian critics, considers, in its application to God, as denoting the Divine "benignity" or "mercy." It is with great diffidence, against the authority that we know can be brought in favor of an opposite opinion, that we express a doubt whether this rendering ever gives the full force of the original word. Sometimes it greatly misrepresents it, as in the oft-quoted text, Romans iii. 26, which Mr. Whitwell translates, — "to show his mercy at this time, that he may be known to be merciful and the bestower of mercy on all who believe in Jesus"; which we think would be rendered more in harmony both with the usual import of the word and with the design of the Apostle's argument in these words, — "to make manifest his righteousness" (his perfect rectitude or integrity of character) "at this time, that it may appear that he is righteous" (or does right) "while imputing righteousness to" (or regarding as righteous) "him who believes in Christ Jesus." The term "justice," in the sense of an administrative or legal attribute, is equally remote from the true meaning of the original. The good old word of the Common Version, "righteousness," comes nearer to the exact sense than any other in our language.* As the paragraph to which this text belongs affords a good example of both the excellence and the defects which mark the Translation before us, we will transcribe it.

21 "But now, as was foretold by the law and the prophets,
terms of acceptance with God, without the observance of the
22 law, are announced — that acceptance, which is to be obtained
by faith in Jesus Christ — to all, without exception, who be-
23 lieve. There is no difference, for all have sinned and cannot
24 boast of righteousness before God. They are accepted by

* Let any one examine the passages quoted by Schleusner under each of his fourteen significations of the word, and see how the idea of *right* is the essential idea which they all present. In some cases, the rendering of δίκαιος by *lenient*, and of δικαιοσύνη by *benignity*, as proposed by Schleusner, is a manifest perversion of the meaning, as, e. g. in 1 John i. 9, (we think, also, in Matt. i. 19,) and Rom. iv. 6.

his unmerited favor, through the deliverance which is by Jesus
25 Christ, whom God hath exhibited as a token of his propitious
disposition toward those who believe on him; to declare his
benignity by the forbearance of God in overlooking sins that
26 are past; to show his mercy at this time, that he may be
known to be merciful and the bestower of mercy on all who
believe in Jesus." — p. 30.

Mr. Whitwell's rendering of δικαιοσύνη, we should observe, is very various. In this passage it is translated "terms of acceptance," — "acceptance," — "benignity," — "mercy"; and in the next chapter, ver. 3, "goodness," ver. 6. "favor," ver. 22, "virtue." We had marked other instances where the translation does not appear to us to present the Apostle's idea, and examples, also, of a tendency to run into the error of explaining rather than simply rendering a passage; but our limits bring us to a close. The Notes contain many remarks which the writer had preserved from recitations at the Divinity School, and he gratefully acknowledges his obligations to the gentleman who then filled the Professorship of Sacred Literature, while he very properly disclaims for his memoranda the character of exact transcripts of the opinions of his teacher. On the whole, though we do not think Mr. Whitwell has been altogether successful in the version he has given us, we are glad he has published this book, especially at this time, and we hope it may serve to rekindle a love of Biblical criticism in the breasts of our clergy and our people. E. S. G.

*** From the circumstance, that, in the comments on Mr. Forster's Life of Vane in our last number, no notice was taken of the fact, that he had repeatedly used the language of the Rev. Mr. Upham without acknowledgment, some injustice may seem to have been done to the latter. If so, it was wholly unintentional. Mr. Upham's Life of Vane we have ever held in high estimation. It was some years since we had read it, but our attention having been directed to the subject, we have been at the pains of comparing it with the more recent work of Mr. Forster, and find that he has borrowed whole passages from Mr. Upham without proper credit, and we cannot but regret that a writer of so great and varied learning should have been guilty of such disreputable plagiarisms. C. C. S.

NOTICES OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

Christian Views: or Discourses, Doctrinal, Practical, and Devotional; designed for the Candid, Serious Consideration of all Denominations of Christians. By the Author of the Christian Layman. Boston: Crosby & Nichols. 1848. 12mo. pp. 300.

THE "Christian Layman" referred to in this title has had a considerable circulation, and been well received by the class of readers for which it was written. The present volume contains twenty discourses on various subjects of a doctrinal and practical character. The author professes to have written them, not for the learned or the theologian, but for the "common mind," — for the less highly educated. He does not aim at "studied elegance and beauty of style." His object is "to promote and advance evangelical religion among the generality of the people."

If we had any doubt of the want of plainly written devotional books for circulation amongst people of moderate education, the doubt would be dissipated by actual inspection of their meagre libraries, and by observing the strong attachment manifested by such persons even to very ordinary works which have fallen into their possession. We are liable to underrate the number of individuals and families in small country towns, and in villages and hamlets remote from literary advantages and excitement, who have no relish for, and no means of procuring, such volumes of sermons and other religious publications as are most highly esteemed in our own meridian. They are many, and they must be fed, and fed with such intellectual food as is adapted to their capacity and their taste. Plain food it may be, but it should be none the less wholesome than that which is furnished for more cultivated minds. It is desirable that sound, wise, and pure thoughts should be supplied in a form so humble and a style so inartificial as to make them intelligible and familiar. This our author has endeavoured to accomplish; how successfully, those for whom the book was written are best qualified to decide. The discourses seem to us, so far as we have examined them, to be plain, serious, and practical. Several of them contain discussions of important doctrinal questions, and the writer's theological belief is clearly expressed; but the volume is free from the alloy of sectarian feeling, and breathes a tone of brotherly kindness towards all Christians and all men. R.

The Library of American Biography. Conducted by JARED SPARKS. Second Series. Vols. XIV. and XV. Boston: Little & Brown. 1847 and 1848. 16mo. pp. 419 and 461.

THE first of these volumes contains a reprint of the Life of the traveller Ledyard, by Mr. Sparks himself. This is certainly worthy of a place in the "Library of American Biography." The other volume — the fifteenth, and, we are sorry to say, the last, of the series — opens with an account of the life and services of Colonel William Richardson Davis, distinguished in our Revolutionary annals, by Fordyce M. Hubbard. The Life of the Rev. Samuel Kirkland, missionary to the Indians, and father of the late President Kirkland, by Rev. S. K. Lothrop, fills the remaining part of the volume. The name of Kirkland is enshrined in a multitude of hearts, but, independently of any adventitious interest, the present biography will prove attractive from the manner in which it is executed, and valuable for the amount of information it affords relative to a portion of the aborigines of North America, and the efforts made to introduce among them "the arts and influences of Christian civilization." The memoir derives additional worth from the fact, that it is prepared from "original documents," and Mr. Kirkland's "own journals and letters." "The chapter on Indian history," observes Mr. Lothrop towards the close of the narrative, "is the darkest and saddest chapter in the annals of this country; and the end is not yet." We wish that the writer would resume and pursue this subject, particularly in its connection with missionary efforts. He must be able to lay his hand on abundance of materials; and while the trains of thought and views, which must have suggested themselves during the preparation of the present memoir, are fresh in his mind, he would find it easy, we think, to furnish something that would not only be read with interest now, but possess a permanent value. We earnestly commend the subject to his attention L.

A Treatise on the Law of Copyright in Books, Dramatic and Musical Compositions, Letters and other Manuscripts, Engravings and Sculpture, as enacted and administered in England and America; with some Notices of the History of Literary Property. By GEORGE TICKNOR CURTIS, Counsellor at Law. Boston: Little & Brown. 1847. 8vo. pp. 450.

IF any literary man wishes to become interested in law-books, let him begin with the volume before us. Independently of its

value to members of the legal profession, it will serve a high use as an introduction of the science of the law to scholars and general readers. The circulation of Mr. Curtis's work will doubtless help, with other agencies, to secure for authors the full enjoyment of their just claims, which are now but partially protected by all existing laws of copyright. The volume contains a sketch of the history of literary property, and a detail of the provisions of the law in England and the United States, as it applies to letters and other manuscripts, to abridgments, translations, periodicals, dramatic compositions, engravings, and maps, to literary piracy and infraction. An Appendix includes the British and American statutes concerning copyright. In the notes, valuable information and interesting anecdotes are freely afforded, and extracts are given from the famous arguments of Lord Camden and Sergeant Talfourd. E.

Biographical Notices of some of the most Distinguished Jewish Rabbies, and Translations of Portions of their Commentaries and other Works, with Illustrative Introductions and Notes. By SAMUEL H. TURNER, D. D., Professor of Biblical Learning and Interpretation of Scripture in the Gen. Theol. Sem. of the Prot. Epis. Church. New York: Staniford & Swords. 1847. 12mo. pp. 245.

Talmudic Maxims, translated from the Hebrew; together with other Sayings, compiled from various Authors. By L. S. D'ISRAELI, Teacher of Hebrew and German. Boston: J. French. 1848. 12mo. pp. 197.

WE think that the title of Dr. Turner's volume professes a little too much. The book, however, is not without value. The biographies, though short, contain, we suppose, the principal facts and incidents which can be gleaned respecting the subjects of them, and the specimens of Rabbinical interpretation given afford means of comparing Jewish with Christian ideas relating to some prophecies generally esteemed Messianic.

The defect of D'Israeli's work is, that the "maxims translated from the Hebrew" are not distinguished from the "other sayings." The former — maxims really "Talmudic" — would possess an historical interest, and would be read, if not for their intrinsic value, at least as matter of curiosity. L.

Duties of Young Women. By E. H. CHAPIN. Boston: George W. Briggs. 1848. 16mo. pp. 218.

The Crown of Thorns: a Token for the Sorrowing. By EDWIN H. CHAPIN. Boston: A. Tompkins. 1848. 32mo. pp. 147.

The former of the above-named books contains six valuable "Lectures" on the Position, Culture, Accomplishments, Duty, Influence, and Maternal Relation of Woman. In the latter we have the same number of excellent "Discourses," the topics of which are,— The Christian View of Sorrow; Christian Consolation in Loneliness; Resignation; The Mission of Little Children; Our Relations to the Departed; and the Voices of the Dead. We need say nothing more in commendation of these volumes, than that, in respect to thought, they are worthy of their author, and, as to style, are greatly superior to any other productions of his pen which we have seen. B—t.

The Incarnation. A Letter to Rev. John Fiske, D. D. By William B. Greene. West Brookfield: Published by the Author. Jan. 1848. 12mo. pp. 52.

This Letter covers a large field of doctrine and contains much thought, but it is wanting in comprehensiveness and maturity. We cannot say that Mr. Greene's views strike us as altogether new. They seem rather to be the vigorous reproduction in his own mind of familiar, general truths, reclaimed from a somewhat isolated existence, arranged in systematic form, and deduced from certain texts of Scripture used as philosophical formulas. It is plain truth in the guise of metaphysics.

The theory of the Incarnation contained in the Letter is strictly Unitarian in its practical aspect, but is peculiar as resting on a basis entirely theological. The central thought is, that the life of the individual is sustained by concurrence with the life of other beings; the natural sinful life by concurrence with humanity, the spiritual holy life by concurrence with God. Man is redeemed by holiness, which is assimilation to God. But the energy of sin accumulated from the Fall has so broken the original sympathy between man and God, so obscured man's spiritual perception, that holiness is impossible. To make "the things of the Spirit of God" tangible to an evil race, a Mediator is necessary; and Christ, as this Mediator, "the middle term through whom the perfections of God may descend upon the children of Adam," is the Word, the Divine Wisdom incarnate. His whole life was in concurrence with the Father's; his food was the Father's Will and Truth; he is the ideal humanity; the Image and Fulness of God to the world. Man may now obtain holiness by being transformed into the image of this Mediator, and thus assimilated to God. This transformation is effected by *digesting* his truth (John vi. 57) and by obeying his example of disinterested love and self-sacrifice.

In connection with this general view, Mr. Greene holds a theory of the Trinity much resembling that of Coleridge, and a doctrine of the Reconciliation which is easily deduced from his leading principle. The criticisms upon the received doctrine of the Trinity and the Atonement are very trenchant, but not more so than is just. F.

Immigration into the United States. By JESSE CHICKERING. Boston: Little & Brown. 1848. 8vo. pp. 94.

Dr. Chickering's essay on the "immigration of foreigners into the United States," their number, and the effect they are likely to produce on the character and institutions of our country, is well worthy of the attention of the public. It embodies a great amount of important statistical information, collected apparently from authentic sources. Several tables, with the necessary explanations, are given, embracing a period of twenty-six years, from October 1, 1820, to September 30, 1846. "The number of foreigners coming" in 1847 he states as "nearly 300,000," that is, "nearly equal to the present natural increase of the whole white population of the United States in 1840."

L.

Der Deutsche Kirchenfreund. Organ für die gemeinsamen Interessen der Americanisch-deutschen Kirchen. Herausgegeben von PHILIPP SCHAFF, Professor der Theologie in Mercersburg, Pa. Jan. 1848. [The Friend of the German Church, Organ of the Common Interests of the American German Churches. Edited by Philip Schaff, Professor of Theology, etc.]

PROFESSOR SCHAFF of Mercersburg, Penn., commenced in January of this year the publication of a religious journal, in the German language, with the title above given. The first number is full of interest, and contains six articles, on the following subjects: — 1. The Design of the Publication; 2. German Literature in America; 3. Anselm of Canterbury; 4. "All is Yours"; 5. Brief Review of the Ecclesiastical Events of the Year 1847; 6. The Good Shepherd. The pamphlet derives its interest from the fact of its being mainly the production of a learned German, transplanted from the teeming literary soil of Germany to the United States, where he has lived sufficiently long to have become acquainted with our theology and ecclesiastical affairs.

The article on German Literature in America is able, and for the most part fair and candid. It makes a large, but reasonable, demand on the gratitude of the world for German learning and research. Of German philosophy Professor Schaff entertains a

higher estimate than will be conceded to it by the Anglo-Saxon mind. German theology is destined, he believes, to exert an important influence in the religious development of North America. There are, he supposes, at least three millions of Germans and their descendants in the United States, all more or less imbued with the German spirit. He looks forward to the time when they will be absorbed into the great mass of the American people, but will carry with them their own peculiarities to modify the grand product. He acknowledges the superior practical character of the American mind, and hopes for great results from the action of our national common sense upon German speculation, which he confesses is sometimes carried to extravagance. In a passing notice of Unitarianism, which he considers as one of the products of the revolutionary spirit of the last century, he says: —

"The eighteenth century may be called the age of revolution or destruction, but in removing rubbish it prepared for a century of re-creation. It had a glowing hatred of tyranny of any description, and struggled for freedom, but not the holy freedom of the sons of God; rather, the freedom of the flesh. It sought an earth without a heaven, a state without a church, a religion without a revelation, a Christianity without Christ, and man without God. Rationalism, under various forms, at that time peculiarly, pervaded the whole Church, and is confessedly not yet rooted out. In England and Scotland it appeared as deism, latitudinarianism, and indifference. In France, as bold materialism and atheism. In North America, it showed itself in a falling away to Unitarianism, Arianism, and Universalism, and in a general slumber of the churches."

He advises those who study German theology to go to the bottom. A superficial acquaintance with it tends only to unbelief. He advises thoroughness on another account, — the approach of a great battle with Unbelief in the shape of Unitarianism.

"Whoever engages superficially with German theology and philosophy can hardly escape injury to his simple, childish faith; but he who wrestles with it manfully, and pursues the intricate and tedious process of investigation to the deepest foundation of our most holy faith, will afterwards be more firmly grounded than ever in Orthodoxy.

"Such a contest will our theology ere long be called to encounter. Nay, it has already begun, and that through the influence of the negative and infidel element of German literature. The Pantheism of the extreme left of the Hegel school has been transplanted among us. Unitarianism and Universalism arm themselves with foreign learning and speculation, and, if the signs of the times do not deceive us, we have before us a still more desperate struggle between belief and unbelief in the field of science. Surely, then, in order to meet this encounter with success, we stand in need of appropriate weapons. We must seek the enemy in his camp, and smite him with his own weapons. If we yield to him, or encounter him with our old, worn-out

armour, we shall justly expose ourselves to derision. Since the invention of gunpowder, we can gain no victories with bows and arrows."

We can assure our German friend, that we cherish no such bloodthirsty, ferocious dispositions as he supposes. The Unitarians are a very quiet, inoffensive people, intent, not on destroying, but on building up Christianity on a surer and more lasting foundation. We shall use German learning for the best of all purposes, to moderate and correct the extravagances of German speculation, both Orthodox and Infidel.

He ends by predicting the rise of a theology in this country more perfect than any that has gone before it, enriched with all the learning and wisdom of the past; and of a church adorned with all the virtues of saints and martyrs, and modelled on the true idea of the fellowship of the first-born of God. To this aspiration we heartily say, Amen! B—p.

*** We have received from the publishers several reprints of works which need only to be named, as their merits are already known in our community. *Aurelian: or Rome in the Third Century. In Letters of Lucius M. Piso, from Rome, to Fausta the Daughter of Gracchus, at Palmyra.* By William Ware, Author of 'Zenobia' and 'Julian' (in 2 vols. 12mo.) — a sequel to 'Zenobia' — was published nearly ten years ago under the name of 'Probus,' and soon republished, in several places abroad, under that of 'Aurelian,' which the writer has now himself adopted. We commend Mr. Ware's series of truthful fictions — for such they are — to every lover of a pure and instructive literature. — *The Birthday; a Sequel to the Well-Spent Hour.* By Eliza Lee Follen (18mo. pp. 160) was originally published under the second only of these titles. It presents an agreeable continuance of the 'Well-Spent Hour,' and yet may be read with pleasure and benefit by those who may not have seen the former story. — *Hours for Heaven* (32mo. pp. 109), "a small, but choice selection of prayers, from eminent divines of the Church of England," with "religious miscellanies," "sacred poetry," and "religious aphorisms," — the whole "intended as a devotional companion," — does not bear evidence on the title-page, as it should, that it is not a new compilation. It will be found a useful manual of piety. — *Self-Culture.* By William E. Channing, D. D., *with a Biographical Sketch of the Author* (32mo. pp. 132) also appears, improperly, as if it were now first issued in this form. Of its merits we need not speak. — *Reminiscences of the Best Hours of Life for the Hour of Death*, etc. By Jean Paul Friedrich Richter (32mo. pp. 98) contains, besides a reprint of the translations from Jean Paul, published under the

same title a few years ago, other extracts that increase its value.

C. S. Francis & Co. of New York have sent us *The Congregational Singing Book: a Collection of Sacred Music; consisting of the most familiar Psalm and Hymn Tunes, for Use in Churches, Sunday Schools, and Families* (16mo. pp. 78); of which, from its cheapness, from the excellence of the typographical execution, and from the good judgment shown in the selection of the hymns that accompany the tunes, and, as far as we can judge, of the tunes also, we are inclined to speak very favorably. — From Messrs. Crosby & Nichols we have received *The Two New Scholars, and other Stories.* By the Author of the "Young Farmers," etc. (18mo. pp. 88), of which a friend, to whose judgment we are accustomed to defer, observes, — "The book, as a whole, pleases me, and I think may be read by young children with much pleasure and advantage." — Messrs. Crosby & Nichols have just issued *The Gospel Narratives: their Origin, Peculiarities, and Transmission.* By HENRY A. MILES (16mo. pp. 168); — also *The General Features of the Moral Government of God.* By A. B. Jacocks, M. A. (16mo. pp. 90); of which we shall speak hereafter. — The same publishers have in press *The Marriage Offering, designed as a Gift to the Newly-married.* Edited by Rev. A. A. Livermore, containing 200 pages or more, 16mo. — They will also soon put to press a volume by Rev. G. W. Burnap of Baltimore, of about 150 pages, 16mo., entitled *Popular Objections to Unitarianism considered and answered, in seven Lectures.* — Messrs. J. Munroe & Co. have in press a revised edition of a volume of Lectures by Rev. Mr. Burnap, under the title of *What is Unitarianism?*

The Statesman and the Man. A Discourse on Occasion of the Death of Hon. John Quincy Adams, delivered in Washington, February 27, 1848. By JOSEPH HENRY ALLEN, Pastor of the Unitarian Church. Washington. 1848. 8vo. pp. 23.

A Discourse on the Life and Character of John Quincy Adams, delivered in the Unitarian Church, February 27, 1848. By GEORGE W. HOSMER. Buffalo. 1848. 8vo. pp. 24.

Discourse on the Life and Character of John Quincy Adams; delivered the Sabbath after his Death, February 27, 1848, *at the Church of the Saviour.* By R. C. WATERSTON. Boston. 1848. 8vo. pp. 22.

A Discourse on the Life and Character of John Quincy Adams, preached at the Church of the Saviour, on Sunday Evening, March 5, 1848. By the Pastor, FREDERICK A. FARLEY. Brooklyn. 1848. 8vo. pp. 32.

A Discourse delivered in Quincy, March 11, 1848, *at the Interment of John Quincy Adams, Sixth President of the United States.* By WILLIAM P. LUNT, Minister of the First Congregational Church in Quincy. [With an Appendix.] Boston. 1848. 8vo. pp. 60.

A Eulogy on the Life and Character of John Quincy Adams, delivered at the Request of the Legislature of Massachusetts, in Faneuil Hall, April 15, 1848. By EDWARD EVERETT. Boston. 1848. 8vo. pp. 72.

WE separate these pamphlets from others noticed in our present number, not only because they relate to a common subject, but because they afford us an opportunity of saying a word upon a point on which contradictory opinions, and even opposite statements, have been given to the public. The decease of Mr. Adams has probably called forth more sermons than any similar event since the death of Washington. We have seen, besides those of which we have given the titles, one by Rev. Theodore Parker, a phonographic report of which appeared in the Boston "Chronotype," and one by Rev. Samuel J. May, printed in the "Syracuse Journal"; and we may add discourses by Rev. Dr. Sharp, and Messrs. Chapin and Hague, of this city. Of the merits of these several productions it is not necessary to speak. They are all valuable, and are marked by those characteristics of the respective writers which prove them to be genuine fruits of their own thought. President Everett's Eulogy seems to us fully to sustain his reputation as an accomplished orator; it is a model of classic beauty inspired with Christian life. Mr. Lunt's discourse may be allowed to claim precedence of all the clerical addresses, as the most complete in plan and execution; and we do not wonder that the Congressional Committee before whom it was delivered requested a copy to be appended to the publication "of the proceedings, etc., attending the demise of Mr. Adams."

These discourses all concur in representing Mr. Adams as a religious man, — intelligently, habitually, consistently religious, — religious from faith in God, in Christ, and in the holy Scriptures. They also agree in representing him as free from any sectarian bias. But there does not appear to be a perfect agreement in regard to his theological opinions. Mr. Hosmer and Mr. Farley seem, at least, to claim him as a Unitarian; Mr. Allen, Mr. Waterston, and Mr. Lunt do not speak of him as belonging to any denomination; while from a discourse delivered before a Trinitarian congregation in this city, and published in one of the journals of the day, an impression would be received, that, though not a decided Trinitarian or Calvinist, he was as little of a Unitarian. The truth we suppose to be precisely this.

John Quincy Adams was not, like his father, an earnest advocate of the Unitarian faith; but he was in no sense a Trinitarian. He worshipped with churches of different denominations. He gave the sanction of his presence to the earliest attempt that was made to gather a Unitarian congregation in Washington, and was for many years a member of that society, — at other times, however, attending at the Capitol or on the services of a Presbyterian society. At Quincy he also worshipped at the Unitarian meeting-house, and during his Presidency became a communicant in that house. If his views of the person of Christ were sufficiently definite to allow him to be placed with any class of doctrinal believers, we might be justified in calling him a semi-Arian; but he more probably belonged to that once numerous, but now almost extinct body, which avoids any precise determination of the Saviour's metaphysical nature. Mr. Farley makes large use of a communication to the "Christian Palladium," published in the interior of New York, (not in Boston, as he supposes,) in which the writer gives a particular account of a conversation which he held with Mr. Adams on a visit paid to him at Quincy, a year or more before his death. We regard with such unmingled disgust the indelicacy that will turn the generous civilities of life into the means of gratifying the morbid curiosity either of an individual or of the public, that we can bring ourselves to refer to this communication only that we may record our protest against any encouragement of a practice so contrary to sound morals and good manners.

The events of Mr. Adams's history present him as filling a larger period of public service than any other man that has ever lived in this country. Born in Braintree, Mass., July 11, 1767, — at the age of fourteen acting as private secretary to the American Minister at the Court of St. Petersburg, — after a period of academical and professional study and legal practice, pursued at Cambridge, Newburyport, and Boston, in 1794 appointed by Washington Minister to the Netherlands, — from 1797 to 1801 Minister to the Court of Prussia, — in 1801, on his return home, a member of the Senate of Massachusetts, — from 1803 to 1808 in the Senate of the United States, — in 1809 appointed Minister to Russia, where he remained till 1814, — in that year one of the Commissioners for negotiating the Treaty of Peace between Great Britain and the United States, — in 1815 and 1816 Minister Plenipotentiary near the former government, — from 1817 to 1825 Secretary of State, under President Monroe, — in 1825 chosen President of the United States, — in 1831, after two years of retirement from public life, again entering its service, and from 1831 to 1848 a Representative in Congress, — struck by the hand of death in his seat, and breathing his last

under the roof of the Capitol, on the 23d of February, 1848, — he was from childhood to a period reaching beyond fourscore years in the eye of the nation and the world. How well he sustained himself, the honors that in successive advancement sought him — not were sought by him — bear witness. Of extraordinary powers of application, and unwearied industry, with a memory that never lost its hold on what it had once seized, methodical in his habits, simple in his tastes, sometimes borne beyond the limit of a due moderation by his impetuous feelings, but always taking principle as the guide of life, a diligent and daily student of the Bible, entertaining the highest reverence for sacred things, a passionate lover of liberty, and an humble disciple of Jesus Christ, he has left a name which will stand bright and pure till the American republic itself shall have passed from the notice or knowledge of men. The last word of his public life, pronounced in giving his vote against a measure of which he disapproved, was "No"; the last sentence that escaped his lips, "I am composed"; — the one significant of that integrity which governed his whole course as a public man, the other expressive of that faith which shed its influence over his whole character. G.

One God, the Father. A Sermon preached at the Dedication of the Church belonging to the Free Christian Congregation of Elgin, Kane County, Ill. By WILLIAM ADAM, Pastor of the Unitarian Church, Chicago. Chicago. 1848. 8vo. pp. 20.

Some Thoughts on the most Christian Use of Sunday: a Sermon preached at the Melodeon, January 30. By THEODORE PARKER, Minister of the XXVIIIth Congregational Church in Boston. Boston: B. H. Greene. 1848. 8vo. pp. 51.

The Modern Pulpit. A Sermon preached at the Ordination of Samuel Longfellow, at Fall River, Mass., February 16, 1848. By JOHN WEISS, Minister of the Unitarian Church, New Bedford. With the Right Hand of Fellowship and Address to the Society. Fall River. 1848. 8vo.

An Appeal to the Young. A Sermon preached at Portsmouth, N. H., March 12, 1848. By ANDREW P. PEABODY, Pastor of the South Church in Portsmouth. Portsmouth: J. W. Foster & Son. 1848. 12mo. pp. 18.

The Church as it was, as it is, as it ought to be. A Discourse delivered at the Dedication of the Chapel built by the Church of the Disciples, Wednesday, March 15, 1848. By JAMES FREEMAN CLARKE, Pastor of the Church. Boston: B. H. Greene. 1848. 8vo. pp. 36.

The Value of Man. A Discourse occasioned by the Death of Hon. Henry Wheaton; delivered March 19, 1848, *in the*

First Congregational Church, Providence, R. I. By EDWARD B. HALL, Pastor of the Church. Providence: C. Burnett, Jr. 1848. 8vo. pp. 23.

Mr. Adam's subject, as was proper, was selected in reference to the position of the "new church," — among a people to whom the views advocated, though "chronologically old," would necessarily appear "new"; it is treated with clearness, simplicity, and in a truly Christian spirit, that speak well for the preacher and the cause. — To criticize Mr. Parker's Sermon, or point out parts of it which conflict with our own views, or to censure it for an occasional tone, especially in the earlier pages, of what seems to us as superficial dogmatism, would not be difficult; but we cheerfully bear testimony to the many just and noble thoughts it contains, and do not hesitate to affirm, that nothing can be better than most of what he says on the use and abuse of Sunday, especially in reference to New England. We have no fault to find with his estimate of the Puritan character and virtues. — Mr. Weiss maintains, that "the pulpit is the great conserver of public and private virtue"; he refers to some causes which lessen its influence, and then proceeds to show what he conceives to be its "central position" in "the great moral truths in which all sects agree, except during the assumptions of theology." He makes the application to the present state of society among us in several particulars, and altogether the sermon bears the clear stamp of earnestness and power. — Mr. Peabody's Sermon is what it professes to be, not an "elaborate discourse," but "a simple appeal in behalf of religious principle, as the ornament of youth and the guide of life." It is serious, clear, and forcible, — such a discourse as cannot fail of making an impression. — Mr. Clarke, in his Dedication Discourse, expresses his thoughts with his usual freedom and independence; in the "critical" part he gives evidence of his eclecticism; in regard to the Church of the future he is hopeful, believing that it will be emphatically a "working church," but variously organized. We think, however, that he exaggerates both the practicability and importance of a union of Christians irrespective of doctrinal differences. — Mr. Hall's Discourse on the Death of Mr. Wheaton we should place among his best performances. It is marked by vigorous and discriminating thought, and contains biographical matter and general and appropriate reflection in such proportions and so arranged, that the reader is conducted to the conclusion with a growing interest, and lays down the Discourse with his feelings warmed and elevated.

INTELLIGENCE.

RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

Ecclesiastical Record. — We regret that the continued ill health of Rev. Mr. Sewall of Scituate has caused him again to resign the ministry which his people had persuaded him to retain, and which he now finally relinquishes. — We are sorry to record other terminations of the ministerial relation. Rev. Mr. Stetson has resigned his office as pastor of the church in Medford. — Rev. Mr. Sargent of Somerville has closed his ministry in that place. — Rev. Mr. Caldwell has relinquished the charge of the congregations in Hampton Falls and Kensington, N. H. — Rev. Mr. Bellows of New York has gone to Europe, where he will spend the summer. Rev. Mr. Briggs of Plymouth will preach at the church of the Divine Unity the next three months, and will have the editorial charge of the "Christian Inquirer." — Rev. William Ware has also left home for a few months' residence in Italy. — Rev. Mr. Motte of Boston has accepted for a year an engagement with the society at Brattleboro', Vt., which they were anxious to extend to an indefinite length. — Rev. George W. Weeks, formerly a preacher in the Methodist Connexion, but now a Unitarian, has become the minister of the society in Pomfret, Vt.

While our old societies are suffering from the frequent changes which death or necessity or caprice occasions in the ministry, new churches of our faith spring up, demanding a supply of preachers. — At this moment, the Unitarian congregations in the eight neighbouring towns of Somerville, Medford, Woburn, West Cambridge, Bedford, Lexington, Watertown, and Lincoln, all of them within twelve miles of Boston, are destitute of settled ministers. — At Hopkinton, Mass., a meeting-house formerly owned by a Methodist society has been bought for Unitarian worship, and is now undergoing repairs. — A Unitarian society has been formed in each of the contiguous towns of East and West Thomaston, Me., with the advantage of finding two meeting-houses erected by another denomination ready for their use. — The Purchase Street congregation in this city, being on the point of removal to their new house in Harrison Avenue, have sold the house which they will quit, and which, it is understood, will become a place of Roman Catholic worship. — The lawsuit in which the Bulfinch Street society in Boston has been for several years engaged, in regard to the rights of some of the former proprietors of the house, has been decided in favor of the society.

The Secretary of the American Unitarian Association is busily engaged in the duties of his office, and finds both encouragement to labor and the recompense of success.

Dedications. — The First Congregational Society in ATHOL, Mass., having remodelled their meeting-house, it was dedicated anew December 8, 1847. The Sermon was preached by Rev. Mr. Clarke of Athol, from Galatians vi. 9; the Dedicatory Prayer was offered by Rev. Mr. Everett of Northfield; and the other services were conducted by Rev. Messrs. Adams, and Wellington of Templeton.

The Unitarian meeting-house in ELGIN, Ill., was dedicated January 19, 1848. The Sermon was preached by Rev. Mr. Adam of Chicago, Ill., from 1 Corinthians viii. 6; the Dedicatory Prayer was offered by Rev. Mr. Conant, of Geneva, Ill.; and the other services were conducted by Rev. Messrs. Adams of Burlington, Wis., Conant, and Adam.

The meeting-house erected by the First Congregational Society in LEXINGTON, Mass., — a previous edifice that was nearly ready for use, in place of their old house, having been burned to the ground, — was dedicated February 23, 1848. The Sermon was preached by Rev. Mr. Huntington of Boston, from 2 Chronicles xxiv. 13, and 2 Corinthians v. 18, 20; the Dedicatory Prayer was offered by Rev. Mr. Dorr of East Lexington; and the other services were conducted by Rev. Messrs. Newell and Muzzey of Cambridge and Stetson of Medford.

The "Chapel built by the Church of the Disciples" in BOSTON, Mass., was dedicated March 15, 1848. The Sermon was preached by Rev. Mr. Clarke, the Minister, from Matthew xvi. 18; the Dedicatory Prayer was read by the Minister and Congregation; and the other services were conducted by Rev. Messrs. Hall of Dorchester, and Peabody and Barrett of Boston. The name of "Freeman Place" has been given to the court in which the chapel stands, in memory of Rev. Dr. Freeman, former minister of King's Chapel in this city.

The First Congregational Society in WEST BRIDGEWATER, Mass., having remodelled their meeting-house, it was dedicated anew April 6, 1848. The Sermon was preached by Rev. Mr. Brigham of Taunton, from Leviticus xix. 30; the Dedicatory Prayer was offered by Rev. Mr. Quimby of Taunton; and the other services were performed by Rev. Messrs. Whitman of East Bridgewater and Bradford of South Bridgewater.

Ordinations and Installations. — REV. HENRY FRANCIS HARRINGTON, formerly of Albany, N. Y., was installed as Minister of the First Unitarian Society in LAWRENCE, Mass., February 29, 1848. The Sermon was preached by Rev. Mr. Peabody of Boston, from 1 Timothy iii. 9; the Prayer of Installation was offered by Rev. Mr. Miles of Lowell; the Address to the People was given by Rev. Mr. Waterston of Boston; and the other services were conducted by Rev. Messrs. Richardson of Haverhill and Gage of Lancaster.

REV. ARTHUR BUCKMINSTER FULLER, of Cambridge, was ordained as Minister of the First Unitarian Society in MANCHESTER, N. H, March 29, 1848. The Sermon was preached by Rev. Mr. Huntington of Boston, from Colossians i. 12 - 14; the Prayer of Ordination was offered by Rev. Mr. Miles of Lowell; the Charge was given by Rev. Mr. Muzzey of Cambridge; the Right Hand of Fellowship, by Rev. Mr. Alger of Roxbury; the Address to the Society, by Rev. Mr. Waterston of Boston; and the other services, by Rev. Messrs. Bulfinch of Nashua, N. H., Barry of Lowell, and Peabody of Portsmouth, N. H.

REV. CAZNEAU PALFREY, late of Barnstable, Mass., was installed over the First Congregational Church and Society in BELFAST, Me., April 19, 1848. The Sermon was preached by Rev. Mr. Thompson of Salem, from Ephesians iv. 5, 6; the Prayer of Installation was offered, and the Charge was given, by Rev. Dr. Parkman of Boston; the Right

Hand of Fellowship was given by Rev. Mr. Cole of Hallowell, Me.; the Address to the People, by Rev. Mr. Cutler of Portland, Me.; and the other services, by Rev. Messrs. Cole and Cutler.

Rev. Samuel Fulton Clarke, of Dublin, N. H., a graduate of the Cambridge Divinity School, was ordained as Pastor of the First Congregational Church in Athol, Mass., April 19, 1848. The Sermon was preached by Rev. Mr. Leonard of Dublin, N. H., from Isaiah xxxiii. 6; the Prayer of Ordination was offered by Rev. Mr. Cutler of Peterboro', N. H.; the Charge was given by Rev. Mr. Lincoln of Fitchburg; the Right Hand of Fellowship, by Rev. Mr. Clarke of Charlemont; the Address to the People, by Rev. Mr. Gray of Boston; and the other services, by Rev. Messrs. Adams of Templeton and Gray of Boston.

Rev. George W. Weeks, of Brookfield, was ordained as Pastor of the Unitarian church in Pomfret, Vt., by a council convened in Brookfield, Mass., April 12, 1848. The Sermon was preached by Rev. Mr. Hale of Worcester, from 2 Peter iii. 3, 4; the Ordaining Prayer was offered by Rev. Mr. Hill of Worcester; the Charge was given by Rev. Mr. Greene of Brookfield; the Right Hand of Fellowship, by Rev. Mr. Ball of Ware; Rev. Mr. Simmons of Springfield was appointed to address the Society by letter; and the other services were conducted by Rev. Messrs. Nightingale of Cabotville, Simmons of Springfield, and Rev. Dr. Thompson of Barre.

OBITUARY.

Mr. William Checkley Shaw died in Baltimore, Md., January 8, 1848, aged 56.

Mr. Shaw was born in Marshfield, Mass., October 25, 1792. His father was the Rev. William Shaw, D. D., who for fifty years was pastor of the First Congregational church in that town; his mother was a daughter of the Rev. Samuel Checkley, pastor of the New Brick church in Boston. His parentage being clerical on both sides, he was early trained to religious and devotional habits. His childhood, with the exception of one year, was passed at home, in uninterrupted health and happiness, and was remarkable only for its truthfulness, filial obedience, affection, and freedom from the selfishness which often characterizes those who, like him, have no companion of their own age and sex to share their sports. Having a good capacity and a fondness for books, his father was desirous of giving him the advantages of a collegiate education, and prepared him in part for it, designing him for a professional life; but circumstances determined him to mercantile pursuits, and he was placed, at the age of sixteen, in a counting-house in Boston. The untried scenes and temptations of a city life never caused him to deviate from that strict integrity and purity of character which had marked his earlier years. He became of age during the war with Great Britain, when the obstructions to commerce were such as to give him no prospect of business for a long time in the branch for which he had prepared himself, and, after spending a year in Rhode Island, he formed a copartnership for the purpose of establishing a commission house in Baltimore. His enterprise, industry, judgment, and integrity were crowned with the success they merited, and he retired from business early in life, with an ample fortune. He had the wisdom, so rare among merchants, to know when and where to stop. No business or

success, however, could change his character or impair the deep religious impressions of his youth. They were with him at all times, and made him a model of excellence in every relation of life, as a husband, father, brother, friend, and member of the Church of Christ. He was the friend of the poor, and a patron of every charitable enterprise. He was zealous in the cause of religious truth, and generous in his contributions to the cause of Liberal Christianity, but with the most perfect charity and liberality to all who bear the Christian name. His death was answerable to his life, — resigned, serene, hopeful. His parting spirit triumphed over agony, and words of comfort were the last he uttered.

The example of such men is precious. They show the world the true and Christian use of wealth, that it can be applied to nobler purposes than those of selfishness and ostentation. B.

Hon. Henry Wheaton, LL. D., died at Dorchester, Mass., March 11, 1848, aged 63 years.

Mr. Wheaton was born in Providence, R. I., November 27, 1785, and graduated at Brown University in 1802. After being admitted to the bar, he passed some time in Europe, and established himself, upon his return, in the city of New York, in 1812. For three years he was editor of the National Advocate. In 1815 he published a treatise on Maritime Law, and in 1816 became Reporter of the Decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States, which situation he retained for twelve years. He took a conspicuous position in the legislature of New York, and in 1826 received the high honor of a place on the Commission for revising the laws of that State. In 1827 his diplomatic career began with his appointment as Chargé d'Affaires at Copenhagen. In 1834 he went to Berlin as Resident Minister, and from 1837 to 1846 remained in the Prussian capital as Minister Plenipotentiary. He returned home in 1847.

His chief works are his Life of William Pinckney, 1826; History of the Northmen, 1831; History of Scandinavia (Edinburgh), 1838; Elements of International Law, 1836; History of International Law, 1844. His various contributions to periodical journals, his orations, addresses, and diplomatic papers, are too numerous to be mentioned even in the most general classification.

Mr. Wheaton's life exhibited from beginning to end a remarkable unity. Law was his study, and literature his recreation. He rose constantly towards the heights of his noble profession, and his horizon widened as he ascended. The law of nations — that science which promises to be the handmaid of justice and humanity — is identified with his name. As a diplomatist, he was at once patient of details and mindful of principles. As a scholar, he was earnest, indefatigable, persevering; in his way an enthusiast, if not for a Utopian ideal, for a knowledge of those facts upon which rests the truth with all its power and promise. He was a decided, consistent Christian; in opinion, Unitarian; in spirit, catholic. He was an early and active friend of our cause in New York. In the humanity and enlargement that characterize his writings, we see traces of a faith that is wont to view men and nations as children of the Heavenly Father, and as subjects of a kingdom of justice and good-will.

The progress of mankind in true civilization, peace, and order cannot but add honor to the memory of Henry Wheaton. O.

*** *Dr. Chase's Letter on the Notice of the "Revised Version" of the "Apostolical Constitutions."*

[We very cheerfully give insertion to the following communication from Dr. Chase, simply observing, that we are pleased to find that his views of the original character of the "Constitutions," as also of the orthodoxy of the ante-Nicene Fathers as measured by the standard of a later age, do not differ so widely from those of the writer of the article referred to, as the expression which occurs in the Preface was thought to imply. For the rest, we are willing to leave the subject where it is, seeing no cause to change our views as to either the origin and character of the "Constitutions," or the value of Krabbe's Essay, but feeling no disposition to withhold from our readers the remarks and comments of the learned translator and editor, whom we again thank for his useful labors. — Eds.]

"*Boston, March* 11, 1848.

"Messrs. Editors, —

"After the candid and courteous manner in which you have been pleased to speak of me, in the last number of the Christian Examiner, in connection with 'the work claiming to be the Constitutions of the Holy Apostles,' I am particularly desirous of removing an erroneous impression from your minds and from the minds of your readers. It seems to have been inferred from a clause in my Preface, that I would represent the Apostolical Constitutions as having expressed themselves in the style of the Athanasian creed, until they suffered interpolations. Certainly, I did not intend thus to represent either those Constitutions or the writings generally of the ante-Nicene Fathers.

"Epiphanius, about A. D. 380, pronounced the Constitutions free from heterodoxy, as he would also the writings of most of those early Fathers. Doubtless he had some way of explaining in an orthodox sense those expressions of theirs which seem to be Arian. At least, he was not disposed to declare them heretical. But in what was written after the rise of the Arian controversy, certain phrases and certain modes of representation acquired a kind of technical character, and, as matters then stood, were pretty clearly adverse to the system of Athanasius. Now some of these occur in the Constitutions as they are at present; and, in rejecting this work, the Trullan Council declare it to have received 'certain things spurious and unknown to the Church.' Photius, too, the learned Patriarch of Constantinople, in speaking of the Constitutions (*as they were in his time*) mentions Arianism as a charge from which they could not easily be defended.

"In view of these facts, permit me to recall to your attention the passage in my Preface to which I have referred: — 'In the fourth century arose the Arian controversy, a storm which fiefcely agitated Christendom more than sixty years, and did not entirely die away for ages. After the many fluctuations connected with that controversy, and long after the ascendency of the views of Athanasius, it was found that the Constitutions had been corrupted, probably by some Arian hand; and accordingly a decree against them was passed by the general council at Constantinople, A. D. 692; saving, however, the authority of the eighty-five canons. It has been thought that the decree was owing also, in some measure, to latent political reasons. Be this as it may,

the work, in most respects, continued, and it still continues, to exhibit what had long been to many the beau-ideal of the Church.'

"'The clause 'probably by some Arian hand,' was used with no invidious design, but only because it seemed to me to be required by the evidence in the case. An Athanasian hand would have labored to introduce into an ancient writing expressions decidedly hostile to Arianism; but an Arian hand would naturally present such as we now find, some of which appear to be irreconcilably opposed to that system which was perfected in the Athanasian creed.

"If the testimonies of the Trullan Council and of Photius and others could be invalidated, as arising from party spirit and a desire to destroy the influence of the Constitutions, which manifestly favored what has been denominated 'the Arian system of subordination,' still it would be difficult to set those testimonies entirely aside. That there was some ground for the charge of interpolation can hardly be denied. But the interpolating may have been exaggerated; and, from a comparatively few instances, occasion may have been eagerly taken to disparage and condemn the whole work.

"Having said thus much for the purpose of removing a misapprehension in regard to my own views, I think it due to the author of the Essay on the Origin and Contents of the Apostolical Constitutions to invite your attention to a few words of his which may be found on pages 429 and 430:—'Those who place the Constitutions in an earlier time could, perhaps, adduce for the explanation of this circumstance the consideration, that the ante-Nicene Fathers, especially in the doctrine concerning the Trinity, very often employ many expressions which afterwards, in the Arian controversies, were assailed. The fact is incontestably true. Justin Martyr, Theophilus of Antioch, Irenæus, Clement of Alexandria, Tertullian, and Origen use phrases and expressions which are found among the Arians. But, since neither the Arians nor the Catholics in their controversies used the Constitutions, and these were adduced neither for nor against Arianism, it may be inferred from this silence, especially from that of Athanasius, that neither party had any knowledge of the Constitutions with their present Arian corruptions.'

"In regard to what has been achieved in the Essay, the field of discussion is so broad that there is room for some diversity of judgment touching certain points; but that the author is worthy of a respectful hearing cannot be seriously called in question. To some it may be gratifying and useful to see the following statement in the decision pronounced by the Faculty of the University of Bonn:—'Diligentiam plane eximiam expendendis veterum testimoniis moderandisque recentiorum aut profligandis opinionibus probavit, et ad vindicandam septem priorum librorum unitatem originalem, ad intelligendas interpolationes demonstrandamque octavi libri seriorem accessionem nova quædam, eaque non mala attulit.'

"Thanking you, Messrs. Editors, for the generous interest which you have shown in commending the volume to the favorable consideration of your readers, I am, as ever,

"Yours, with much respect and Christian love,

"IRAH CHASE."

INDEX.

A.

Adam, W., Sermon by, 473.
Adams, J. Q., Sermons on, 470 — biographical notice of, 472.
Adams. N. See *Shepard.*
Albro, J. A. See *Shepard.*
Allen, J. H., Discourses by, 314, 470.
Allin, J., of Dedham, 339.
Almanac, American, 145.
Apostolical Constitutions, 223 - 235 — history and character of, 223 — critical opinions, 225 — Chase's revised version, 227 — Krabbe's Essay, 228 — origin of the Constitutions, 229 — interpolations, 230 — Chase's editorial labors, 231 — historical value of the Constitutions, 232 — theological, 233 — extracts, 234 — Chase's Letter to the Editors, 479.

B.

Ballou, A. See *Non-resistance.*
Barry, W., History of Framingham by, 310.
Belknap, Rev. J., Life of, etc., by his Granddaughter, 78 - 86 — birth and early life, 78 — removal to Boston, 81 — writings, 82 — religious opinions, 83 — close of life, 85.
Bellows, H. W., Sermon by, 150.
Bingham, H., Residence in Sandwich Islands by, 428.
Blindness and Idiocy, 448 - 457 — causes and effects of blindness, 449 — Mr. Bowen, 450 — Dr. Howe's Reports, 451 — inferiority of the blind, ib. — hereditary infirmity, 452 — treatment of idiots, 454 — — education of, 455 — institution of the Abendberg, 456.
Bowen, B. B, Blind Man's Offering by, 448.
Briggs, G. W., Sermon by, 150.
Brown, B., on Treatment and Cure of Crétins and Idiots, 448.
Burnap, G. W., publications by, 314, 470.
Burritt, E. See *League.*

C.

Carey, H. C. See *Past.*
Carey. Rev. T., 34 — Letter of, on the Trinity, 41.
Campbell, M., Revolutionary Services, etc., of Gen. Hull by, 307.
Carrel, A. See *English.*
Catholic and Protestant Missions, 416 - 441 — Xavier, 417 — Jesuit stations not permanent, 419 — Catholic and Protestant education, ib. — seal of conversion, 420 — Oregon missions, 421 — principle of accommodation, 422 — European Protestant missions, 423 — American, 424 — results, 425 — Sandwich Islands, 427 — writers on, ib. — first missionaries to, 428 — moral condition, 429 — effects produced, 430 — moral improvement, 431 — evidences of progress, 433 — hindrances, 434 — complaints and conduct of the Catholics, ib. — charges against Protestant missions, 436 — insufficient grounds for, 437 — faults of Protestant journals, 440.
Channing, W. H., Discourse by, 149.
Chapin, E. H., Duties of Young Women, — Crown of Thorns, 465.
Chase, I. See *Apostolical.*
Chauncy, C., 369.
Chickering, J., on Immigration, 467.
Christian Views: Discourses by Author of "Christian Layman," 463.
Clarke, J. F., Discourse by, 473.
Clarke, S. F., Sermon by, 313.
Congregational Singing Book, 470.
Coquerel, A., Experimental Christianity by, 1 - 21 — condition of France, 1 — religious system, 3 — nature of man, 5 — philosophical systems, 6 — principles, 7 — redemption, 9 — Christ, 10 — inspiration, 11 — revelation, 13 — destinies of our religion, 15 — changes, 17 — the future life, 19 — triumphs of Christianity, 20.
Curtis, George T., on copyright, 464.

D.

D'Aubigné, J. H. M., 211.
Dedications, 154, 475.
De Smet, P. J., on Oregon missions, 416.
D'Israeli, L. S., Talmudic Maxims by, 465.
Doctrinal Instruction in Sunday

Schools, 21 – 33 — Christian truths, 23 — right principles, 25 — controverted doctrines, 27 — change of denomination, 29 — prejudices, 30 — systematic teaching, 32.
Dorr, T. H., Sermon by, 441.

E.

Ecclesiastical Architecture, 316.
Ecclesiastical Record, 151, 315, 475.
Edwards, J., 367 – 386 — New England at the beginning of the last century, 367 — Edwards leaves college, 368 — elements of his character and destiny, 369 — preaches at Northampton, 371 — Edwards and Whitefield, 372 — Wesley, 373 — effects of Edwards's preaching, ib. — seclusion at Stockbridge, 375 — Presidency at Princeton, 376 — theological system, 377 — power of deduction, 379 — defective premises, 380 — religious susceptibility, 381 — a metaphysical theocrat, 382 — philosophers of his age, 383 — Congregationalists of New England, 385.
Ellis, R., Discourse by, 314.
English Revolution, The, 205 – 222 — importance of, 205 — mode of viewing it, 206 — Forster's Sketches, 209 — D'Aubigné's work, 211 — Hutchinson's Memoirs, ib. — Carrel's history, ib. — Pym, 212 — Strafford, 213 — Cromwell as a statesman, 215 — moral character of, 217 — revolution a struggle for civil liberty, 219 — Fox's opinion, 221.
Everett, A. H See *Obituary.*
Everett, E., Eulogy by, 471.

F.

Farley, F. A., Sermons by, 149, 470.
Fathers, Early, of New England See *Shepard.*
Follen, E. L., Birthday by, 469.
Forster, J., Statesmen, etc., by, 209, 462.
Fox, T. B., Sermon by, 313.

G.

Gannett, E. S., Sermon by, 149.
Giles, H., Sermon by, 150.
Gilman, C., The Sibyl by, 310.
Gray, F. C., Prison Discipline, etc., by, 273.
Great Britain and Ireland, 153.
Green, E. See *Obituary.*
Greene, W. B., on the Incarnation, 466.

H.

Hall, E B., Discourse by, 473.
Haskell, D. N., Address by, 314.
Hedge, F. H., Prose-Writers of Germany by, 263 – 273 — German literature, 263 — Carlyle, 264 — Leutze, 267 — Hedge's poetical translations, 269 — Luther's prayer, 271 — character of the present work, 272.
Heywood, J. H., Sermon by, 313.
Holmes, O. W., Lecture by, 150.
Hosmer, G W., Discourse by, 470.
Hours for Heaven, 469.
Hull, Gen. William. See *Campbell.*

I.

Induction of Christ's Nature from the Universe, 344 – 355 — truth, 344 — harmony of nature and revelation, 345 — infinity of the universe, 346 — unity of design, 349 — object of the creation, 350 — doctrine of the Trinity, 351 — analogues of Christ, 353 — need of a Saviour, 354 — Christ the guardian angel of the earth, 355.
Installations. See *Ordinations.*
Intelligence, 151, 315, 475.
Italy and Pius the Ninth, 236 – 263 — recent publications, 237 — alleged liberalism of the Pope, 239 — political relations of Italy, 241 — proscribed exiles, 242 — Austrian policy, 243 — Carbonari, 244 — reformers, 245 — difficulties in the way of reform, 246 — financial condition of Italy, 249 — administration of the Papal states, 250 — decree of amnesty, 251 — character of the Pope, 253 — reforms, 255 — ecclesiastical reform, 257 — England and Rome, 259 — Catholic tendencies, 261.

J.

Jarvis, E., Physiology by, 147.
Jarvis, S. F., Reply to Milner by, 145.
Judson, S. B., Memoir of, 416.

K.

Kay, Rev. J. See *Obituary.*
Krabbe, O. C. See *Apostolical.*

L.

League of Universal Brotherhood, 356 – 367 — Elihu Burritt, 356 — plan of the League, 357 — Pledge, ib. — character of, 360 — comments on, 361 — change recommended, 363 — human brotherhood, 364 — Christian view, 365.
Lee, E. B., Naomi by, 308.

Lincoln, J. L., Selections from Livy by, 146.
Livermore, A. A., Sermon by, 314.
Longfellow, H. W., Evangeline by, 143.
Lothrop, S. K., Life of S. Kirkland by, 464.
Lowell, J. R., Poems by, 309.
Lunt, W. P., Discourse by, 471.
Lyman, J. See *Obituary.*

M.

Mariotti, L., Italy, etc., by, 238.
Martineau, Rev. J., Discourses by, 113 - 124 — character of the volume, 113 — defects, 116 — authority of Christ, 119 — extracts, 120.
McClure, A. W. See *Shepard.*
Medbery, R. B., Memoir of W. G. Crocker by, 416.
Ministers, Piscataqua Association of, 403 - 415 — Dr. McClintock, 404 — Dr. Haven, 407 — Dr. Buckminster, 408 — Rev. H. Porter, 409 — President Appleton, ib. — Paine Wingate, ib. — Dr. Langdon, 410 — Dr. Belknap, ib. — Rev. Mr. Prince, 411 — Dr. Stevens, ib. — Rev. P. Litchfield, ib. — Rev. S. Chandler, ib. — Dr. Hemmenway, 413 — labors of the Association, ib. — harmony, 414 — present condition of churches, 415.
Ministry, Claims of the, 184 - 205 — salaries, 185 — frequency of dismissions, 187 — choice of the profession, 188 — trials, 190 — domestic relations, 192 — sympathy, 194 — advantages of the profession, 195 — modes of influence, 196 — greatness of the office, 199 — unsettled ministers, 201 — demand for liberal preaching, 202.

N.

Non-resistance, 86 - 113 — Ballou's work on, 87 — theory, 88 — refutation of, 90 — social nature of man, 91 — government, 92 — argument from Scripture, 94 — protection of government, 97 — "resist not evil," 98 — Sermon on the Mount, 100 — Epistle to the Romans, 102 — argument from the Epistles, 105 — punishment, 106 — moral means, 108 — individual rights, 111.

O.

Obituary, Hon. A. H. Everett, 155 — Ezra Green, M. D., 156 — Rev. James Kay, 157 — Hon. A. Ward, 159 — Rev. D. M. Stearns, 160 — Hon. J. Lyman, 319 — W. C. Shaw, 477 — Hon. H. Wheaton, 478.
Ordinations and Installations, 154, 318, 476.

P.

Parker, T., Letter, etc., by, 314 — Sermon by, 473.
Past, The, the Present, and the Future, 161 - 176 — Carey's volume on, 161 — feudal times, 162 — life in New England, ib. — modern civilization, 165 — imperfect diffusion of knowledge, 167 — age of trade, 169 — claims of mind, 171 — economy of labor, 173 — self-culture, 175.
Peabody, A. P., Sermon by, 473.
Periodical journals, 152.
Prison Discipline, 273 - 295 — Congregate and Separate systems, 274 — effect on health, 276 — statistical table, 278 — result, 279 — insanity, 280 — importance of society, 285 — prisons in England, 287 — mitigations of the Separate system, 289 — applications of, 291 — prison at Charlestown, 293 — discharged convicts, 295.

R.

Read, H. F., Dramatic Poems by, 311.
Register, Unitarian Congregational, 145.
Relief of the Poor, 318.
Revelation, The, of St. John, 386 - 403 — Whittemore's Commentary, 386 — literal interpretations, 389 — symbolical, 390 — imagination an interpreter of Scripture, 393 — true character of the Apocalypse, 394 — circumstances of the writer, 395 — connection with the Hebrew prophecies, 397 — the closing poem of the Scriptures, 399 — profound spiritual influence of, 401.
Richardson, J., Farewell Discourses by, 149.
Richter, J. P. F., Reminiscences by, 469.
Ripley, Rev. S., biographical notice of, 176 - 184 — early influences, 177 — ministry, 179 — character, 181 — preaching, 183.
Rogers, N. P., Collection of Writings of, 46.

S.
Savonarola, J., Facts and Figures from Italy by, 236.
Schaff, P., German Church-Friend by, 467.
Sedgwick, T., Discourse by, 150.
Sermons on Christian Communion, 296 - 304 — Sullivan's volume, 296 — supposed plan, 297 — Unitarian preaching, 299 — devotional spirit, 301 — intellect of the pulpit, 303.
Shackford, C. C., Lecture by, 314.
Shaw, W. C. See *Obituary.*
Shepard, T., and Early Fathers of New England, 321 - 343 — character of the Puritan fathers, 321 — McClure's Life of Cotton, 323 — Adams's Life of Eliot, 324 — imprecations, 325 — Albro's Life of Shepard, 328 — claims of Shepard to notice, 330 — childhood, 331 — college life, 332 — interview with Laud, 333 — marriage, 335 — comes to New England, 336 — takes part in the Hutchinson controversy, 337 — defence of Congregationalism in conjunction with Allin, 339 — writings, 341 — character and influence, 343.
Slavery, Treatment of, at the North, 46 - 78 — proslavery, 47 — mischiefs of extravagance, 49 — intercourse with slaveholders, 51 — different classes of, 53 — attachment to slavery, 55 — want of light, 56 — iniquity of slavery, 57 — antislavery party at the South, 59 — antislavery action, 61 — appeal to Southern men, 63 — cruelties of slavery, 65 — our connection with slavery, 67 — effects of slavery, 68 — political action, 69 — visits to the South, 71 — silence, 73 — Southern clergymen, 75 — preaching on slavery, 76.
Solly, H., The Great Atonement by, 143.
Sparks, J., American Biography by, 464.
Stallo, J. B., Principles of Philosophy by, 305.
Stearns, Rev. D. M. See *Obituary.*
Sullivan, T. R. See *Sermons.*
Sumner, C., Address by, 150.
Sunday School Society, Nineteenth Annual Report of, 21.
T.
Tilden, W. P., Address by, 314.
Torrey, J., Translations of Neander by, 235.
Tuckerman, H. T., Artist Life, etc., by, 144.
Turner, J. H., Sketches of Jewish Rabbins by, 465.
Two New Scholars, etc, 470.
U.
Unitarianism in Portland, 34 - 46 — First Parish, 35 — Payson, Rev. E., 37 — Freeman's Letter, 39 — Reply to, by Rev. T. Carey, 41 — views of the Trinity and objections to, ib.
W.
War, The Mexican, 124 - 142 — war an evil, 125 — continuance of a war, 127 — war unnatural, 129 — base, 130 — unprofitable, 131 — unchristian, 132 — popular delusion, 134 — demoralizing influence of war, 136 — the war ought to cease, 139 — peace memorials, 141, 151.
Ward, Hon. A. See *Obituary.*
Ware, W., Aurelian by, 469.
Waterston, R. C., Sermons by, 150, 470.
Wayland, F., Sermons by, 313.
Weiss, J., Sermon by, 473.
Wheaton, Hon. H. See *Obituary.*
Whitman, Rev. J., 441 - 447 — character of, 442 — as a pastor and preacher, 443 — sketch of his life, 444 — extract from Mr. Dorr's sermon, 446.
Whitney, F. A., Sermon by, 149.
Whittemore, T. See *Revelation.*
Whitwell, W. A., Translation of Epistle to the Romans by, 458 - 462 — neglect of critical studies, 458 — Epistles of New Testament, 459 — translation of Scriptures, ib. — criticism, 460.
Willson, E. B., Sermon by, 313.

JUN 5 - 1952